HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Hurrah for the Filibuster!

Fortas Defeat a Conservative Victory

By RUSSELL KIRK

Talked to death mostly by Sen. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.), the nomination of Justice Abe Fortas to be chief justice of the Supreme Court has gone by the board. Like many other filibusters, this one has been no scandal, but a public benefit.

Apropos of the Fortas controversy, Mr. Richard Nixon remarked that he disapproves of all filibusters. Sen. Griffin was rightly vexed by this remark, for Griffin was fighting to save President-presumptive Nixon from the affliction of a chief justice hostile toward many of the reforms which the Nixon Administration would recommend.

Moreover, the filibuster is a time-tested and valuable means for dissuading Congress from acting with injudicious haste. Far from being an instrument of selfish interests, the filibuster has been employed more often by Senate liberals, during the past several years, than by Senate conservatives.

Under pressure from the executive force or from a public propaganda-campaign, Congress is liable to enact legislation which nearly everyone would regret later. The right of unlimited debate in the Senate was deliberately designed to delay action until there can be adequate discussion and calmer counsels may prevail. Thus the filibuster often—though not invariably, of course—has been an instrument for prudent delay and the preservation of minorities' rights.

The defunct Fortas nomination—or the nomination of anyone else for the office to chief justice—required closer scrutiny than the overburdened and impatient "rump" session of the Senate could provide. Clearly, President Johnson's nomination of Fortas was a partisan act, meant to saddle the incoming Republican administration with a Johnsonian political crony. And Mr. Johnson pushed the nomination with indecent haste.

The GOP senators who helped spearhead the movement against the confirmation of Abe Fortas as chief justice look over the rollcall vote. From left are Senators George Murphy (Calif.), Robert Griffin (Mich.) and John Williams (Del.).

The Senate Judiciary Committee, for instance, requested that Mr. Clark Clifford (secretary of defense) and Mr. W. Divier Pierson (White House counsel) give testimony concerning this nomination. They declined to appear, presumably because they knew that under oath they would have to offer evidence to the effect that Justice Fortas did indeed collaborate directly with the White House, on pending legislation, in a fashion imperiling the separation of powers between executive and judicial branches of the federal government.

That's not all. The Judiciary Committee issued subpoenas requiring Mr. Richard Goodwin (a Democratic braintruster) and Mr. Daniel Yergin (a political journalist) to appear before the committee. Though these are two very well-known gentlemen, ordinarily eager to air their opinions and easy to find, apparently they went into hiding, because federal marshals could not track them down in time to serve the subpoenas before the Judiciary Committee concluded its deliberations. If their sworn testimony would be so damaging to Fortas that these two Democratic partisans found it necessary to go underground—why, surely this "midnight appointment" deserved discussion at great length in the Senate.

In other respects, Mr. Johnson endeavored to thrust Mr. Fortas upon the Senate with an urgency arousing suspicions, and by tactics often considered unethical. Consider the means employed to extract an endorsement of Justice Fortas from the American Bar Association.

The ABA generally never was consulted on such "approval"; there was not even an attempt to secure the favor of the ABA's House of Delegates. Instead, the ABA's Committee on the Federal Judiciary (12 lawyers) was asked to approve the nomination—by telephone, at 7 o'clock on the very morning when Mr. Johnson announced his nomination of Fortas! Most of this committee's members received no previous hint that such a nomination was being considered. Although their approbation was announced as unanimous, at least one member of the committee was not even consulted, by telephone or otherwise.

Ordinarily, the ABA is given much more time to deliberate on such recommendations—let alone the choosing of a chief justice. Why this shady precipitateness? Mr. William Gossett, president of the ABA, vehemently attacked Sen. Griffin some weeks ago for opposing Justice Fortas. But now, embarrassed, Mr. Gossett confesses, "I do recognize that all of the facts were not before the committee"—that is, the ABA's Committee on the Federal Judiciary was blissfully ignorant of many things about Fortas when they "unanimously" bowed to President Johnson's pressure.

Such Administration strategy suggested to many members of the Senate that there was something odd about this nomination. Justice Fortas is said by his critics to have breached the wall of separation between the Supreme Court and the White House; to have accepted lucrative lecture fees which raise questions of conflict of interest; to be "soft" on cases involving pornographic publication; to be the hopeful recipient of Johnsonian favor for partisan services rendered.

These charges deserved full investigation and discussion. The Senate was unwilling to take time for that, so Mr. Fortas will not be chief justice. If it requires a filibuster to preserve the repute and independence of the Supreme Court—why, long live the filibuster!

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Capital Briefs

● Some conservatives are concerned by the growing number of **liberal news stories** suggesting that Richard Nixon, if elected, plans to dot his Cabinet with Republican liberals. Retired Air Force Gen. Curtis LeMay, in fact, cited these unsubstantiated reports as one of his main reasons for becoming Wallace's running mate. The liberal press, however, is used to talking down conservatives *in this fashion. During the GOP convention* in Miami, politicos recall, the mass media was virtually unanimous in predicting that Nixon would select either Lindsay, Percy, Hatfield or Romney for his vice presidential nominee.

● A number of important **Southern newspapers** have now publicly endorsed Richard Nixon. Among the latest: the Birmingham News, the Dallas Morning News and the Richmond News Leader. (*For more on the Birmingham News endorsement, see page 5.*)

● Is Humphrey for a **unilateral bomb halt** or isn't he? Two indications that he definitely favors it: Former U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, leading advocate of a bomb pause, is now heading up Humphrey's New York campaign; ADA bigwig Joseph Rauh recently stated in coming out for his old friend HHH: "I heard Humphrey say in 1967 that the bombing should be stopped."

● Who are some of the **fat cats for the radical left** in the United States? A recent 63-page FBI report reveals that among the big money-bags on *the left are Cleveland industrialist Cyrus Eaton* (over $40,000 to SDS); Mrs. Lucy Montgomery, wife of a rich Chicago lawyer who has contributed heavily to both SDS and SNCC; Corliss Lamont, whose name has been linked with several Communist-front organizations; the United Auto Workers; the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation and the Edgar B. Stern Family Fund.

● The man generally credited with being the "father" *of the Soviet Union's hydrogen bomb*, Prof. Andrei Sakharov, has announced his support of the present Czechoslovakian government and warned his Russian countrymen that the present Communist leaders are attempting to restore a **Stalin-like dictatorship** in Moscow. In an essay circulating among the Soviet intelligensia, Prof. Sakharov denounces the Stalin regime as "worse than Hitler" and calls on Kremlin leaders to permit free speech and press in the Soviet Union.

● Another pro-Communist group to denounce the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia is the **World Federation of Trade Unions**, one of the most influential Red-front groups in the world. The WFTU claims 57 affiliates in 47 countries, including some Western European unions, and its rejection of Moscow on the issue is seen as a major blow for the Kremlin.

● New York's Conservative party senatorial candidate **James L. Buckley** makes a plea in every speech for his supporters to back Richard Nixon for the presidency, not George Wallace. Buckley attacks Wallace for his heavy use of federal funds in Alabama, his strong opposition to state right-to-work laws, and his ignoring of the Alabama constitution when Wallace tried to run for re-election in 1966.

● As *if Walter Reuther didn't have enough* trouble with many of his UAW members threatening to vote for George Wallace, now a group of **Negro auto workers** has formed the National Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Negro UAW members. In a letter to Reuther, the black unionists said that unless they achieve "full equity" in the union, "chaos could ensue." Reuther, a long-time civil rights activist, was reportedly "unhappy" with the Negroes' complaints.

● Three well-known liberals—**Walter Lippmann, Stewart Alsop** and **Richard Rovere**—all seem resigned to the idea that Richard Nixon will be the next U.S. President. Because the Democratic party has so badly botched up the country, furthermore, they don't seem particularly unhappy with the idea. (See page 13 for commentary on Lippmann's stand.)

● From the liberal **Texas Observer:** "Richard Nixon is the odds-on choice to win Texas in November. Defections among both liberals and conservatives from Hubert Humphrey are virtually certain to mean defeat for the Democratic ticket in the state this year. . . ."

● Sen. **Jacob Javits** (R.-N.Y.) is not pleased by reports that well-known New York Republicans are planning to repudiate him and endorse Conservative party candidate James Buckley.

● When Javits rallied behind George Romney rather than Nixon's choice of Spiro T. Agnew as the GOP vice presidential candidate in Miami, politicos believed Javits just wanted a **more liberal running mate** for Nixon. But New York Republican delegates say they heard the New York senator state that the real reason he was pushing for Romney was for the specific purpose of making Nixon look bad.

● Rev. **Adam Clayton Powell** said last week he was sorry he wasn't going to be in town when George Wallace campaigns for the presidency because "he is the only one left who has guts." The ousted Harlem congressman said he would like to discuss the possibility of a Powell-Wallace ticket.

● Rep. **Paul Findley** (R.-Ill.) thinks Nixon is going to win in Illinois, but says that George Wallace is very strong in the Land of Lincoln.

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Will LeMay Hurt Wallace Ticket?

George Wallace's strategy of tapping retired Air Force Gen. Curtis E. LeMay for his running mate may not turn out to be the political plus that he counted on. At first blush, the choice of LeMay would seem to beef up the chances of the American Independent party. As commander of our long-range bombers in Europe and in the Pacific, LeMay had much to do with developing the leadership and techniques that helped greatly to smash Nazi Germany and the war lords in Japan. As Air Force chief of staff, he was instrumental in building up the Strategic Air Command which helps protect America from an enemy invasion. Unquestionably, he is a man of courage who has done much for his country.

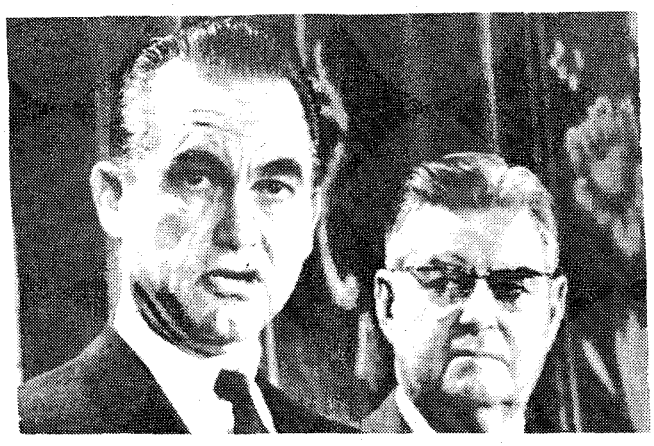
But LeMay also has a number of political defects that could seriously hurt the Wallace ticket. His views on defense, for instance, would seem to clash sharply with those of Wallace himself. While Gov. Wallace has repeatedly indicated he would refuse to use nuclear weapons in Viet Nam, Gen. LeMay has emphatically stressed that he would never rule out employing such weapons.

As in the case with Barry Goldwater in 1964, LeMay's views on nuclear weapons may get the entire Wallace ticket into trouble. In 1964, for example, *Human Events* found scores of Wallace followers who said they would have been for Goldwater save for his "tough" attitude toward the use of nuclear devices.

Wallace supporters who are for the Alabamian's segregationist views, further, may be less enthusaistic about LeMay, since the general is proud of his role in desegregating the Air Force. "If you remember," he informed newsmen last week, "the Air Force integrated our units—colored units that we had—before anyone else." After revealing his own role in achieving this, LeMay went on to say, "we've been living together, sleeping together, working together, fighting together, ever since and without any troubles."

There are other aspects of the LeMay selection that may boomerang against the Alabamian. LeMay, a super-star in his own right, will very likely take away much of the press play from Wallace. Thus, liberal newsmen can be expected to keep questioning LeMay about his nuclear views—not about the issues Wallace is concerned about and wants to get across to the people.

Most crucial of all, however, is LeMay's almost total lack of expertise on subjects that do not include the military. By his own account, he appears



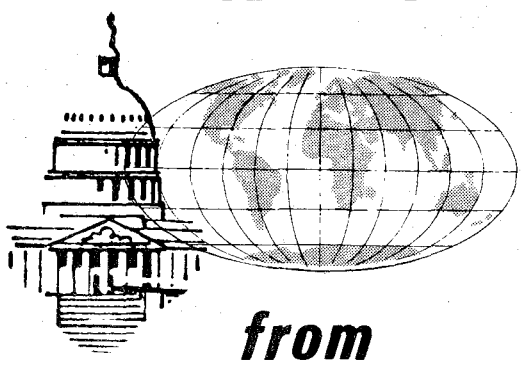
The third-party ticket of George Wallace and Curtis LeMay meets with newsmen as the general's vice-presidential candidacy was announced last week.

manifestly ill-equipped to help solve such pressing problems like the crime wave, the deteriorating dollar, racial turmoil, etc. Thus, many voters will certainly not wish to do anything that might conceivably put Gen. LeMay a heartbeat away from the presidency. For all the above reasons, Wallace may find himself regretting the fact that he lassoed the general for his running partner.

• Those close to Gen. LeMay cannot really understand why he chose to team up with Wallace, but chalk it up to naivete and ambition to get a forum for his own strongly held views on defense matters. Only two weeks before he accepted the position with Wallace, a successful conservative lawyer who has helped LeMay write a number of his speeches came away from the general convinced he had no intention of running with the Alabamian. There is also the belief by some close to LeMay that he could be persuaded to drop his candidacy if Barry Goldwater, a man for whom the general has much respect, were to tell him that his teaming up with Wallace could put Humphrey in the White House.

• The LeMay selection may also prove to be confusing to Wallace supporters. Because of the delay in his being chosen, Wallace staffers are saying that LeMay's name will appear on the ballot in only one state, Kansas.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



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Inside Washington

Another 'Niemann' Case?

A former top-ranking Communist has been given access to secret government information on the grounds it is "relatively easy to understand" why an American Negro would embrace communism for a period of 17 years.

Having joined the Communist party in 1933 and reportedly having left all Communist activities by 1950, Alfred Newell Johnson is currently employed by a New York electronics firm that handles secret government contracts. The Defense Department had opposed a security clearance for Johnson because it might be "contrary to the national interest."

But a Pentagon hearing examiner, Charles J. Klyde, overruled the lower-level security decision, deciding there was no reason to deny Johnson a clearance. Klyde noted that Johnson grew up in the Great Depression and said that "the Communist party at the time presented in the eyes of many a panacea for the country's ills."

Few security experts would be opposed to granting a secret clearance to an ex-Communist if they felt sure he had made a decisive break with extreme radicals. But the Johnson case raises many questions. For one thing, Johnson's lawyer who released the ruling is William Kunstler, a notorious left-winger in his own right who has belonged to several Communist fronts and whose clients have included such revolutionaries as H. Rap Brown.

While it is claimed that Johnson last engaged in Communist activity when he taught in the Communist California Labor School in 1950, Johnson, it is known, was registered in Alameda County, Calif., in 1956 with the "Independent Progressive party," a cited Communist front.

There is a further disturbing note: Johnson has refused to discuss with the FBI the activities of other persons who may have been Communists. Johnson says he would cooperate with any FBI probe of treason, however.

"Rightly or wrongly, he has taken this position, which appears to be a matter of individual conscience," observed Klyde. Government officials have been shocked by Klyde's nonchalant attitude toward security. As one security expert told *Human Events*, "We have always considered critical a former Communist's willingness—or unwillingness—to discuss matters fully with the FBI. A refusal to cooperate would indicate that the former member still does not realize the threat posed to our institutions by the Communist party."

In the view of many observers, the Johnson case underscores the looseness of security standards established by the Pentagon. Earlier this year in executive session, the House Committee on Un-American Activities conducted an investigation which revealed that another security clearance had been granted by the Pentagon to one Robert Arthur Niemann despite his avowed support of Communists and Communist organizations. Interestingly enough, the Pentagon board that cleared Niemann will also hear the Johnson case on appeal. The decision by the board will be eagerly awaited by many disparate observers.

HHH Aided by Black Extremist

While Hubert Humphrey continues to trumpet that he will bring law and order—with justice—to the country, a man who views the killing of white policemen by Negroes as "justifiable homicide" is helping to run the vice president's campaign in Washington, D.C.

PHILLIPS

He is the Rev. Channing Phillips, the 40-year-old Congregational minister who received 67½ votes for the presidential nomination at the recent Democratic convention in Chicago.

Co-chairman of the D.C. Citizens for Humphrey-Muskie Committee, Phillips is a member of the extremist Black United Front, a militant all-Negro group founded by Black Panther revolutionary Stokely Carmichael.

Phillips' views on "law and order" have been frequently touched upon by *Human Events*. An example of his beliefs was revealed this July when two white policemen, prompted by the urgent requests of a black man, attempted to arrest a Negro robbery suspect. Following the arrest, a struggle ensued when the policemen were assailed by the suspect and two members of his family who came to aid him. During the encounter both police officers were shot, one fatally, after their own service revolvers had been snatched from them in the murderous brawl. All three persons involved in the incident with the policemen were charged with homicide.

In the wake of this amazing incident, the Black United Front, with Stokely Carmichael and the Rev. Phillips in attendance, unanimously passed an incredible resolution calling the slaying of the policeman "justifiable homicide."

Though no evidence of any kind had been produced to justify this "verdict," the resolution, passed with the approval of 150 members of BUF, read in part:

"Be it resolved that:

WALLACE REPORT COMING NEXT WEEK

As part of its continuing election year coverage, **Human Events** next week will feature an extended report on American Independent party candidate George C. Wallace. There has not been, as many readers have assumed, any attempt on the part of **Human Events** to suppress news about Mr. Wallace's campaign. Rather, in all fairness to Mr. Wallace, we have been holding up such a complete report awaiting the naming of his vice presidential candidate and the publication of the AIP platform. We had also hoped to interview Mr. Wallace during his October 7 trip to Washington, but he has turned down our request. Therefore, since Gen. Curtis LeMay has now been chosen the vice presidential nominee and since the election is only four weeks away, we are going ahead with our report, trusting that the AIP platform, as Mr. Wallace has promised, will be released this week.

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"The methods of self-defense by the family charged with the alleged slaying of the honky cop is justifiable homicide, in the same sense that police are allowed to kill black people and call it justifiable homicide."

The Rev. Phillips not only endorsed this statement—which was severely condemned by Mayor Walter Washington—but acknowledged having framed most of it himself. Phillips, elaborating on these statements later, also accused the police of being a "colonial" force in the black community. His only regret was that someone had supposedly substituted the word "honky" for "white" in the final mimeographed statement.

Such are the "law and order" beliefs of the co-chairman of the Humphrey citizen's organization in the Nation's Capital.

Humphrey's Dovish Speech

Press reviews to the contrary, Hubert Humphrey's nationwide TV speech on Viet Nam strongly suggests that the vice president intends to pursue a decidedly dovish course in Viet Nam should he be elected chief of state in November.

HUMPHREY

As President, said Humphrey last week, "I would stop the bombing of the north as an acceptable risk for peace because I believe it could lead to success in the negotiations and a shorter war."

Humphrey's qualification was extremely mild. He would, he emphasized, expect some evidence—"direct or indirect, by deed or word—of Communist willingness to restore the demilitarized zone between North and South Viet Nam."

While the press suggested the wording was not much different from previous LBJ speeches, astute political observers believe that the stress of Humphrey's speech, coupled with his recent selection of dovish advisers and previous Viet pronouncements, indicates that he would be willing to initiate a unilateral bombing halt with only the faintest whisper of a quid pro quo. Indeed, many believe Humphrey would call a halt to the bombing right now if he had the power to do so.

The fact that the speech was much praised by such political doves as Senators Ted Kennedy and J. W. Fulbright is an added reason for believing that Humphrey would end the bombing. In addition, it is hardly likely that former U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg—who quit the Johnson Administration because of his differences with LBJ on the Viet war—would be in Humphrey's corner unless the vice president had convinced Goldberg of his own "softness" on the issue.

GOP presidential candidate Richard Nixon expressed the views of many hard-headed diplomats when he declared: "I noticed . . . Mr. Humphrey indicates that he is willing to take the risk of calling for a halt in the bombing.

"I would respectfully submit that the risk is not his. The risk that is taken is to the thousands of Americans in the DMZ whose lives would be threatened in the event that a bombing halt occurred and the North Vietnamese forces were able to attack them in greater numbers than presently is the case."

Even by suggesting that he would grant more concessions to the Reds than they have already received, Humphrey, Nixon stresses, is undercutting our negotiaters in Paris.

What disturbs a number of Humphrey watchers is that they believe he is willing to go much farther in making concessions than he indicated in his TV speech. *Only a few weeks ago, it is noted,* Humphrey was saying in Denver that he could have run on the minority Viet Nam platform defeated at the Democratic convention. That plank called for a unilateral halt to the northern bombing, a reduction of offensive operations in the south and steps to effect a Communist coalition government. What was Gov. Agnew saying about Humphrey being "squishy soft" in the field of communism?

Fortas Defeat Rocks Liberals

The failure of the Senate to cut off the anti-Fortas filibuster, followed by Fortas formally withdrawing his nomination to the chief justice post, has resulted in a stunning setback for the Johnson Administration, the majority members of the Supreme Court and American liberalism in general. It was also a terrific personal affront to LBJ, Earl Warren and Fortas himself. In the wake of the thundering defeat, the Homer Thornberry nomination to the High Court has also been withdrawn, and it is believed that LBJ may not even submit a new name for the chief justice position for fear of risking another spectacular rebuff.

FORTAS

While U.S. liberals continue to weep over Fortas' demise—it was the first time since 1795 that a designated chief justice had been refused Senate confirmation—conservatives believe that Abe received his just desserts. Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.), one of Fortas' most bitter foes, spoke for many when he stated the withdrawal was "the wisest decision Fortas has made since he's been on the Supreme Court" and suggested that he step down from the court altogether "for the sake of good government."

Aside from the fact that his opinions did not seem to square with a commonsense attitude toward the law and revealed an amazing tolerance toward criminals, subversives and those engaged in civil disobedience, Fortas further aggravated the Senate that refused to confirm him by his continued close association with the President and his acceptance of a $15,000 lecture fee that had been raised by fat cat businessmen friends whose interests have repeatedly been affected by decisions in which Fortas has been involved.

Though Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark and other hatchet men for the Administration made spurious attempts to prove that Fortas' foes were really comprised only those opposed to civil rights legislation, the vote against shutting off the filibuster revealed that the anti-Fortas elements came from around the country. Senators Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.) and Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.)—both considered liberal on civil rights—opposed ending the filibuster. Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R.-Ky.), who voted for cloture on the grounds that he generally opposes filibusters, emphatically stressed, however, that he would have cast his ballot against confirmation of Fortas if the filibuster had been broken.

Those who fought Fortas' nomination deserve a special vote of congratulations by conservatives, with special thanks going to Senators Griffin, Thurmond, Fannin and Ervin.

Following is the rollcall by which the Senate refused to cut off debate on the motion to take up the nomination of Fortas to be chief justice of the United States (a two-thirds vote was required):

TO INVOKE CLOTURE: 45

DEMOCRATS (35): Anderson, Bayh, Brewster, Burdick, Clark, Gore, Harris, Hart, Hartke, Hayden, Inouye, Jackson, Kennedy, Magnuson, Mansfield, McCarthy, McGee, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale, Monroney, Montoya, Moss, Muskie, Nelson, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Symington, Tydings, Williams (N.J.), Yarborough and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (10): Brooke, Case, Cooper, Dominick, Goodell, Hatfield, Javits, Kuchel, Percy and Scott.

AGAINST CLOTURE: 43

DEMOCRATS (19): Byrd (Va.), Byrd (W.Va.), Cannon, Dodd, Eastland, Ervin, Fulbright, Hill, Holland, Hollings, Jordan (N.C.), Lausche, Long (La.), McClellan, Russell, Sparkman, Spong, Stennis and Talmadge.

REPUBLICANS (24): Allott, Baker, Bennett, Boggs, Carlson, Cotton, Curtis, Dirksen, Fannin, Fong, Griffin, Hansen, Hickenlooper, Hruska, Jordan (Idaho), Miller, Mundt, Murphy, Pearson, Prouty, Thurmond, Tower, Williams (Del.) and Young (N.D.).

Paired for cloture: Morse and Church, Democrats.

Paired against cloture: Gruening (D).

Not voting but announced against cloture: Aiken and Smith, Republicans, Ellender (D).

About That 'Willful Minority'

The Liberal Establishment has taken up the cudgels against the "willful minority" (to quote the Washington *Post*) that denied the big prize to Justice Fortas. But an examination of the *Congressional Record* clearly shows that the will of the majority was not frustrated.

Twelve senators were not recorded on the cloture motion. Seven, however, did announce how they would have voted had they been present. Two, Morse (D.-Ore.) and Church (D.-Idaho) would have voted "yea," raising the pro-cloture total from 45 to 47.

The *Record* indicates that five others—Aiken (R.-Vt.) Bible (D.-Nev.), Ellender (D.-La.), Gruening (D.-Alaska), and Smith (D.-Me.) would have voted "nay," raising the total of those opposed to cloture from 43 to 48.

Thus, if every senator who had made his position known had actually been present, and voted, there would have been 47 votes for cloture and 48, a majority, against. There is no indication in the Record how the five other absentees would have voted.

It should be noted, also, that Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R.-Ky.) announced during the debate that although he would vote for cloture, he would vote against confirmation of Fortas. At least one other Republican voting for cloture indicated privately that he would vote "no" on the actual confirmation.

Reds a Part of Chicago Debacle

In delving into the causes of the Chicago riots at the Democratic National Convention, the House Committee on Un-American Activities last week confirmed that demonstration leaders had for several months planned a confrontation between police and protestors in the Windy City and had every intention of preventing the convention from functioning.

The House committee, moreover, revealed that hard-core Communists—not just bizarre "youth leaders" like Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman—played influential roles behind the scenes. Document after document introduced by committee investigators unfolded Communist intrigue.

Charlene Mitchell, the CP's presidential candidate, Donald Hammerquist, an admitted Communist, Earl Durham, who has served in numerous leadership posts in the top echelons of the Communist party and many other CP leaders participated in strategy sessions for the Chicago protest. Along with Tom Hayden and Rennie Davis, avowed leaders of the Chicago demonstrators, they gathered in Chicago on Feb. 11, 1968, at 407 South Dearborn St., Room 315, to discuss demonstration plans.

The meeting, according to police testimony, had been called by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam, the key group involved in organizing the Chicago demonstrations.

The committee also introduced into the record a mechanical reproduction of a $1,000 check signed by Quentin D. Young for payment to Sudler and Co., the firm from which the National Mobilization Committee rented office space on Dearborn Street. Young, an identified Communist leader, acknowledged that he had signed the check, but took the "First" Amendment when asked to affirm or deny his CP membership.

Police escort Yippee leader Jerry Rubin from last week's HCUA hearings.

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POLITICS '68

BARRY's SENATE RACE

Barry Goldwater appears to be way ahead in his race to re-enter the Senate in 1969. Pitted against **Roy L. Elson**, who for 15 years has been a top aide to retiring Democratic Sen. Carl Hayden, Goldwater enjoys instant recognition around the state and is usually greeted with enthusiasm. "Goldwater's sort of like John Wayne," commented one Democrat, "a tall, Western cowboy figure in Arizona."

GOLDWATER

While Elson is campaigning on what he can do for Arizona and is slinging mud at Goldwater by referring to him as a "charlatan," Goldwater is stressing the issues that defeated him in 1964 but that have become popular in 1968: **law and order**, a **permissive society** and how to end the war in **Viet Nam**.

The former Air Force Reserve general says that he would try to end the "ugly war" in Viet Nam by telling Hanoi that if it doesn't come to a reasonable negotiating position in Paris in a short time, "then we will assume a **new military posture** and use our full power to force the enemy into submission."

To alleviate the conditions of mounting crime Goldwater states, "We must get rid of poor judges who allow permissiveness to influence their judgments. We must stand behind our **law enforcement community**; when that is done, the rate of crime will diminish."

Elson forces know they have an uphill fight, but they still claim they can pull out a victory in November. The smart money at this juncture, however, is betting on Goldwater.

N.Y. DEMO DEFECTIONS

Columnist John Chamberlain suggests that New York's Conservative party candidate for the Senate, **James Buckley**, might do much better than the press is making out. His campaign against liberal Sen. **Jacob Javits**, a Republican, and far-out Democratic candidate **Paul O'Dwyer** is suddenly taking off, says Chamberlain.

BUCKLEY

Buckley points out that Javits is to the left of the Republican party and that O'Dwyer doesn't even have organizational backing because of his way-out views. Republicans, Chamberlain believes, are defecting from Javits, while Democrats have refused to come over to O'Dwyer.

"We are now witnessing **repudiations of the O'Dwyer candidacy** by organization Democratic leaders who would never have dreamed of being irregular in the old Franklin Roosevelt and Al Smith days," says Chamberlain. For example, Bronx County Democratic Chairman **Henry McDonough** has repudiated O'Dwyer. Mario Biaggi, a Democratic candidate for Congress, has accepted the Conservative party endorsement and has declared for Buckley.

"**Ferdinand Mondello** of the Bronx," Chamberlain adds, "a Democratic candidate for the state assembly, is also in the Buckley camp. The defections from O'Dwyer have been spreading upstate: in Montgomery County the Democratic chairman has said he's for Buckley, and in Glenn Falls the Democratic city chairman has made the same switch."

Chamberlain says he doesn't believe "just yet" that Buckley can win, but he finds that even in liberal New York there seems to be a distinct **veering to the right** "along with the rest of the country. . . ."

RIBICOFF IN TROUBLE?

A month after the Democratic National Convention, Sen. Abraham Ribicoff's tough denunciation of the tactics used by the **Chicago police** against the street demonstrators has become a principal issue in Ribicoff's re-election campaign.

RIBICOFF

Before a television audience numbering in the millions, the Connecticut liberal assailed what he called the "Gestapo tactics in the streets of Chicago." When **Mayor Richard Daley** responded, Ribicoff, not 15 feet away, stared stonily at the mayor and replied: "How hard it is to accept the truth!"

While Ribicoff insists he made some hay with his stand, Connecticut observers tend to disagree. **Edwin H. May**, Ribicoff's Republican opponent, appears to be gathering votes from both independents and Democrats by stressing his basic support of the police actions, although he concedes there were some excesses.

May says: "I've already visited most of the state's 169 towns and on every main street I hear deep concern about **violence and crime**. That was the issue in Chicago. Certainly the police weren't blameless, but people believed that they had to enforce the law."

That Ribicoff is being hurt by his now famed remarks is indicated by the fact that he is frequently booed by Democratic regulars at **important gatherings**. At a recent party fund-raising dinner, the kind of meeting where profuse praise and standing ovations are accustomed fare, a number of Democrats stood and booed when Ribicoff was introduced. Thus politicos in the Nutmeg State now believe that Edwin May might just possibly put Ribicoff out of office come November 5.

NIXON's DIXIE SUPPORT

Presidential candidate George Wallace has received a blow from the **Birmingham News**, one of the most influential newspapers in his home state. The News has given unqualified backing to GOP presidential candidate Richard Nixon.

"This newspaper," said the News, "is well aware that there are many people who are drawn to the rhetoric of **George Wallace**. Wallace does, indeed, in his own words, 'tell people what they want to hear,' and he tells it in language they understand.

"But telling it like it is is one thing: doing something to change it is something else. The Birmingham News believes that Richard Nixon offers the only real hope for **doing** something about the mess this country is in. It believes further that the only thing that can **deny** America the change a vast majority cry out for is the **strength-siphoning campaign** of the very man to whom many in their frustration have turned: George Wallace. . . ."

WALLACE

NIXON

What George Wallace might be able to do, said the News, is to "**deny a clear victory** on November 5 to Richard Nixon. If that happens and the choice of a President is left to the House of Representatives, then it is possible—with each state having one vote and with the possibility of Democratic majorities in more than half the delegations—that the choice would be the Democratic nominee, Humphrey.

"That is a risk, clearly, that a vote for George Wallace entails." What, the News goes on to ask, if Wallace were elected? How could he run the country—"a President not only without a majority in Congress, but having no more than a handful of supporters in either house? . . .

"As to Wallace's own qualifications for the presidency, one can rate for himself the importance of his **lack of experience** at the national level.

"But how can one truly interested in conservative government shrug off Wallace's record as governor of Alabama, which left this state with higher taxes and a **staggering burden of debt**?

"George Wallace is **not** a conservative. He is a **pseudo-conservative**. Check the record. There's not a dime's worth of difference between his tax-and-spend philosophy and that of the national Democrats. . . .

"Finally, the last peg upon which George Wallace hangs his third party hat is the weakest: His constant assertion that there is no difference between the two major parties is bald nonsense.

"On law and order, on Viet Nam, on national reconciliation, on 'big government,' on fiscal sanity, on foreign policy—on every issue there is an **immense difference** between what the shattered remnants of a discredited party offer in the way of more of the same and what the Republican party and Richard Nixon represent.

"And that brings us to the third alternative: **Richard Nixon**. No one can logically dispute Nixon's qualifications for the presidency. His experience is vast and varied; his preparation and training have been thorough.

"He has served in the legislative branch in both houses of Congress. He knows how to get programs enacted. He has served in the executive branch, at the elbow of the President, participating in **all major decisions** on foreign policy and national security. . . .

"Richard Nixon can do what he says he will do, not only because of his personal qualifications but because he can staff his administration with other able and qualified men and because he will be backed in Congress by a powerful and well-organized party.

"And what Richard Nixon says he will do is what a majority of Americans, fed up with the **disastrous bungling** of the last eight years of Democratic rule, want done.

"**Only** Richard Nixon offers that realistic hope.

"Can we afford to risk losing our chance—our **real** chance?"

CALIFORNIA BATTLE

Though considerably behind in the polls, GOP senatorial candidate **Max Rafferty** is still thought to have an excellent chance of beating his Democratic opponent, former California State Controller **Alan Cranston**. One reason for the optimistic note: Gov. Ronald Reagan is now going to give his full attention to the Rafferty race and is determined to persuade the GOP candidate to make the necessary changes in his campaign.

RAFFERTY

Meanwhile, Rafferty has decided to hammer away at **Cranston's constantly shifting views** and his reckless tactics. While Cranston cries for a "clean" campaign, notes Rafferty, the liberal Democrat has actually been guilty of maligning members and nominees of both parties.

While campaigning for the Democratic party's nomination for the U.S. Senate in 1964, for instance, Cranston attacked President Kennedy's press secretary and fellow Democrat, **Pierre Salinger**, with trying to "exercise John Birch-style thought control." That same election year he labeled Sen. **George Murphy** a "right-wing extremist." During the 1966 election campaign he attempted to slander fellow Democrat Mayor **Sam Yorty** with "anti-Semitic tactics and falsehoods."

Cranston also continues to shift on the issues. Last year Cranston was for winning the war in Viet Nam. This year he's for de-Americanizing the war and an immediate **unconditional bombing halt**. He says he's against **recognition of Red China**, but he was a founder of the California Democratic Council which is all for exchanging diplomats and trade with Peking. In 1966 he was all for federal aid. Now, like George Wallace, he's for federal aid "without strings."

Where, ask Rafferty and his supporters, does Cranston really stand?

• Cranston has also been aiming his mudgun at Rafferty by suggesting he's a **draft-dodger**. But Rafferty's unrefuted explanation of his draft record shows that's a vile canard.

In the summer of 1940, notes Rafferty, he volunteered under the old U.S. Navy "V-1" officers' recruitment program. After an intensive examination, he was rejected for flat feet. During the school year 1942-43, he was reclassified 1-A in the draft and was requested by his employer, **Thomas M. Cheney**, Trona superintendent of schools, to appeal this classification because "my school classes would have had to be closed down since no replacement was even remotely available in that isolated community." Cheney, head of the well-known Cheney Brothers Driving School in Los Angeles, attests to the statement.

As soon as the school year ended, says Rafferty, "I reported for induction to the Upland draft board, was bused to the Los Angeles induction center, and was once again rejected by the examining physicians. My Selective Service classification was given as 4-F, and it did not change during the remainder of the war. Following my rejection, I worked assembling bombers in Douglas' Santa Monica plant, and served as parts expediter until school reconvened in September."

CAPSULE

Conservative **Henry A. Bubb**, a prominent Topeka savings and loan executive and the national chairman of **Citizens for Reagan** during the pre-convention period, has thrown his support to the Nixon-Agnew ticket.

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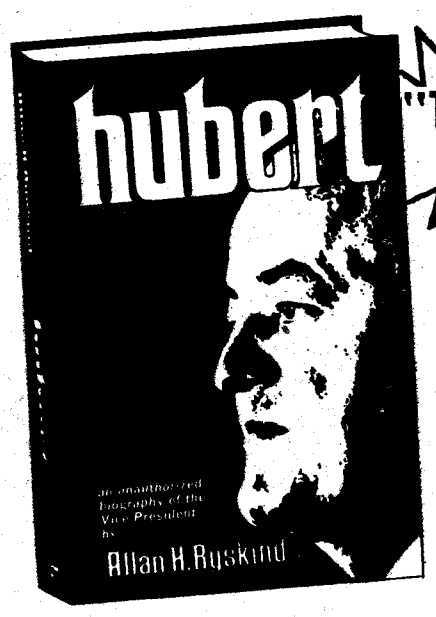

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HUBERT

by
Allan H. Ryskind
Capitol Hill Editor of
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Some Little-Known History

When Salazar Met With Franco

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, as the highly controversial premier of Portugal, was one thing. Dr. Salazar, the economic scholar, is another. This deals with his second side.

I began what became a long familiarity with Dr. Salazar while a student of economics at the University of Virginia. I had chosen the subject of gold in international finance for my university thesis. Dr. Salazar had published at the University of Coimbra his first significant economic commentaries, including his famous tract: "The Gold Problem—Part I."

I queried him regarding sections of this and our correspondence continued at intervals throughout the long years until his last illness shortly ago. So did my visits with Dr. Salazar in Lisbon, and, on an occasion, in the house where he was born.

This house is a single-floor cottage in Vimeiro—a plain house, but bright and whitewashed, with horseshoe-shaped windows in the walls, flower boxes under them, and stone seats at the sides of the door. A few steps away he built a second house, much the same. A giant creeper vine, loaded with blossoms, connects the two.

In October 1910, after eight years at the Seminary of Visea, young Salazar entered the University of Coimbra, whose solemn traditions date back to the 13th Century. Portugal had overthrown its constitutional monarchy. King Manuel II was fleeing to exile in London.

Riots gripped Portugal's universities. But politics was a university luxury the frail young scholar could not afford. To earn his keep, he had to give private tutorage after study hours.

"Tutoring others did two things in my behalf," he once told me. "It kept me in the university and it kept me out of trouble."

In November 1914 he received his bachelor's degree with the highest marks ever given a student at the famous university. He was appointed an assistant lecturer in economics on April 28, 1917, and, one year later, only 30, was made a full professor.

On May 28, 1928, the army staged the last of several military coups, setting up a national dictatorship. The economy was in total chaos. Dr. Salazar, drafted from the university, was sworn in as minister of finance.

Soon Portugal's woes were further compounded by the world depression. But within 14 months after Coimbra's draftee took office, Portugal's budget was balanced for the first time in the nation's history. The record has remained largely unbroken for the past 39 years.

Although Portugal is a poor country, its gold reserve is impregnable and the gold-backed Portuguese escudo, along with the Swiss franc, is among the most highly convertible currencies in the world.

As early as Hitler's attack on Poland, in 1939, and even after France fell, Dr. Salazar told me privately that he foresaw a long—very long—struggle and the war ending in an Allied victory, instead of a short war and a *pax Germanica* on the continent of Europe. He was convinced that England would stand immensely hurt but undefeated, that the United States would ultimately come in and that victory would go to us. I found not another

Portugal's longtime ruler Antonio Salazar played a little-noticed but perhaps decisive role in determining the course of World War II.

continental European leader who then agreed with him.

The payoff came in respect to Spain.

When Mussolini stabbed prostrate France in the back and took his arrogant hop, skip and jump into the war at what he calculated was a sure-shot moment of victory for Italy, Rome and Berlin alike brought great pressure on Franco to declare war at the same time.

Count Galeazzo Ciano, Mussolini's flamboyant son-in-law, was Italy's foreign minister. Serrano Suner, Franco's brother-in-law, was Spain's foreign minister. Working hand-in-glove, they practically announced that Franco had done so.

At that moment, and in the utmost secrecy, Salazar met with Franco on the Spanish frontier. They met alone. Spain's leader was thrown into doubt by Salazar's arguments against bringing the war to the Iberian peninsula, and by his absolute conviction that, no matter how things looked at the moment, the Germans would lose the war in the end.

"Spain will turn back from a ghastly, incalculable mistake," Dr. Salazar told me in Lisbon on the night of his return from this visit. He had stayed Franco's hand. This, I believe, is a piece of unwritten history.

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EXPLOSIVE MOVIE—Among the "art" films shown at Wayne State University during a cultural program which was part of "Detroit Discovery Week" was a 22-minute motion picture entitled "The Cocktail Maker." The audience saw the various steps in the manufacture of gasoline bombs—Molotov cocktails. At least one member of the audience did not like it. He is Recorder's Court Judge Joseph A. Gillis, an amateur movie buff. Gillis said he would seek legal grounds for prohibiting such "cultural" tidbits. The selection committee said it chose the picture only in terms of "composition excellence" and "photo techniques."

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Media Bias: A Main Cause of Growing Discontent

By ALICE WIDENER

Invited to Washington, D.C., to address the Board of Directors, General Federation of Women's Clubs, I am alarmed at the prevalence of forebodings of an eventual bloody ultra left-ultra right confrontation in our country. These forebodings have been expressed to me by members of Congress, by press colleagues, by friends and by many prominent women gathered here to attend the General Federation annual meeting. Almost all those who expressed their fears asked for my opinion about what is the main cause of the threatening situation, a question also asked of me by reporter Tom Clark of CBS radio in Chicago, who interviewed me for live broadcast over the long distance phone on September 24.

For whatever it might be worth, here is my diagnosis of the situation in which everyone admits that tempers are growing shorter, indignation is rising higher, emotionalism is surging wilder and wilder.

I believe a main cause of our troubles is frustration growing out of the doctrinaire "liberal" editorial policies of our most influential communications media in New York City and Washington, D.C., namely, NBC, CBS, WABC, the New York *Times* and Washington *Post*. For much too long these media have denied air time and space to cultivated, educated, wise, refined and cogent social critics belonging to the political center and slightly-right-of-center. These critics have valid objections to many social, economic and political policies pursued by welfare statists and by the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. By denying avenues of public expression to the center, the liberal media cuts the ground from under it and forces critical discussion over to the far right.

Here are some specific examples:

• Arthur Krock, whose *Memoirs* were recently published, is an eminent center conservative journalist of exceptional integrity and experience. I never have seen him interviewed on NBC or CBS in a prime time show, or heard him comment over TV as an expert, which he is, on political affairs. The New York *Times Magazine* had Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. review Krock's important *Memoirs*, and, of course, Schlesinger did his usual sarcastic hatchet job on someone expressing views different from his own ultra-left-liberal ones.

• Allen Drury, author of the recently published *Preserve and Protect*, is one of the greatest novelists ever to ornament American literature. He is a fine creative artist of the political center, a true conservative and humane, brilliant critic of our times. I never have seen Allen Drury on any major network TV show or as a guest of Johnny Carson, David Susskind, Mike Wallace or Merv Griffin. Yet ultra-leftist novelists Gore Vidal and Norman Mailer are frequently invited to air their views on all kinds of subjects. The silent treatment given to Allen Drury by our major communications media is a national disgrace.

• During the campaign this year, hard-nosed reporters for NBC, CBS, the New York *Times* and Washington *Post* have asked Republican and Democratic candidates all manner of pressing questions. But when Sen. Eugene McCarthy said that if he were elected President his first move would be to fire J. Edgar Hoover as director of the FBI, not a single reporter of "Meet the Press," or "Face the Nation," or "Issues and Answers" asked McCarthy, "Why? What fault do you find with Mr. Hoover? What do you think he does wrong? What, specifically, is your reason for saying you would fire him?"

With the center and slightly-right-of-center eliminated from our main New York and Washington communications media, the national argument is confined in these highly influential centers of public opinion to several sides of only one side, the left-liberal side. The one-sidedness creates frustration and a dangerous vacuum. It also creates tremendous resentment among millions of middle-class Americans.

On September 23 conservative Robert Montgomery, former actor and TV expert for President Eisenhower, told the General Federation of Women's Clubs, "The air belongs to the American people, not to the broadcasting networks. The air is now tri-monopolized." It is. And if hard-working, middle-class citizens cannot find fair opportunity for expression of their views over the air, they will take it away from its present owners. But, alas, that might happen too late to spare our nation an ultra left-ultra right confrontation.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

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REWARD FOR PIRACY—"Just a few months ago President Johnson signed a bill which withholds foreign aid from countries that seize United States fishing vessels on the high seas. One of the chief offenders has been Ecuador, which this year so far has seized six American tuna boats outside the 12-mile limit which is the maximum internationally accepted, but inside the 200-mile limit Ecuador claims for control of fishing. Now the World Bank, whose president is Robert S. McNamara, former secretary of defense, and whose funds come mostly from the U.S., has approved a $5.3-million loan to Ecuador—for guess what? It's for improvement of its fishing industry."—From the Indianapolis *Star*

Federal 'Witch Hunters'

New Attacks on Industry Mergers

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

James J. Ling, chairman of Ling-Temco-Vought, Inc., rightly has accused federal government agencies of "business McCarthyism or witch-hunting" in their investigation into conglomerates.

These wide-ranging probes have harmed thousands of investors, said Ling.

As a case in point, the LTV chairman cited a recently published assertion by a high-ranking Justice Department official that "bigness is neither good nor bad per se, but there does appear to be something of an economic case for some broader policy to limit the random absorption of medium-sized firms into large conglomerates."

This same anti-trust official, according to Ling, expressed doubt that there are any "economies of scale" to be achieved by putting a member of "disparate enterprises" together into a single corporate structure.

"What business is it of the government's as to whether or not economies materialize?" asked Ling.

It isn't any business of the anti-trust division of the Justice Department. Besides, if the mergers weren't achieving economies they wouldn't be taking place at a record rate.

Mr. Ling pointed out that it is the right of businesses to merge as long as they are in compliance with laws concerning monopoly and don't lessen competition.

Ling also cited a Federal Trade Commission announcement that wholesale investigations into conglomerates had begun and its allusion to an unspecified "implication."

This kind of blank government indictment of conglomerates, good and bad, has caused virtually all of the conglomerate stock prices to plummet and resulted in losses of hundreds of millions of dollars to investors holding these securities.

As long as the Justice Department makes threatening noises and the Federal Trade Commission holds a club over the heads of all large multi-firm corporations, the prices of these companies, many of them the best and most progressive in the country, will remain in the basement.

This guilt-by-association technique by power-struck government officials should be stopped. After all, a good percentage of their salaries are paid from taxes taken from these same conglomerates.

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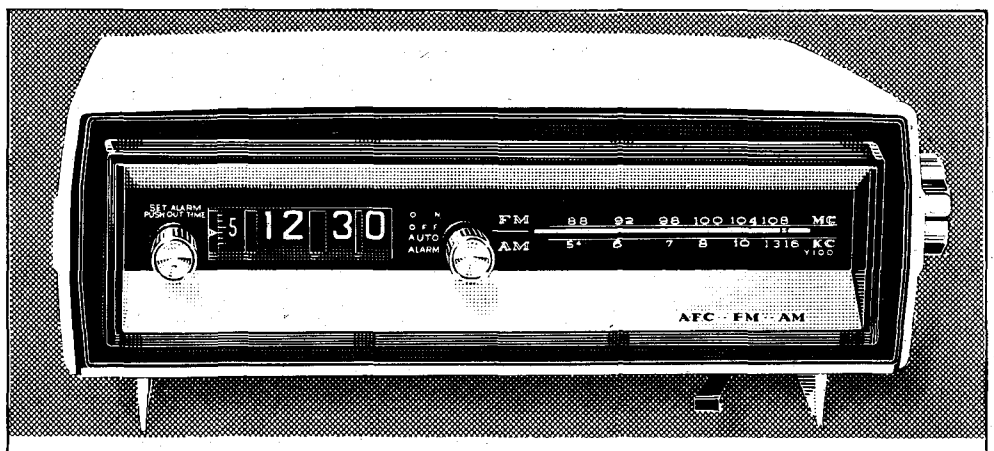

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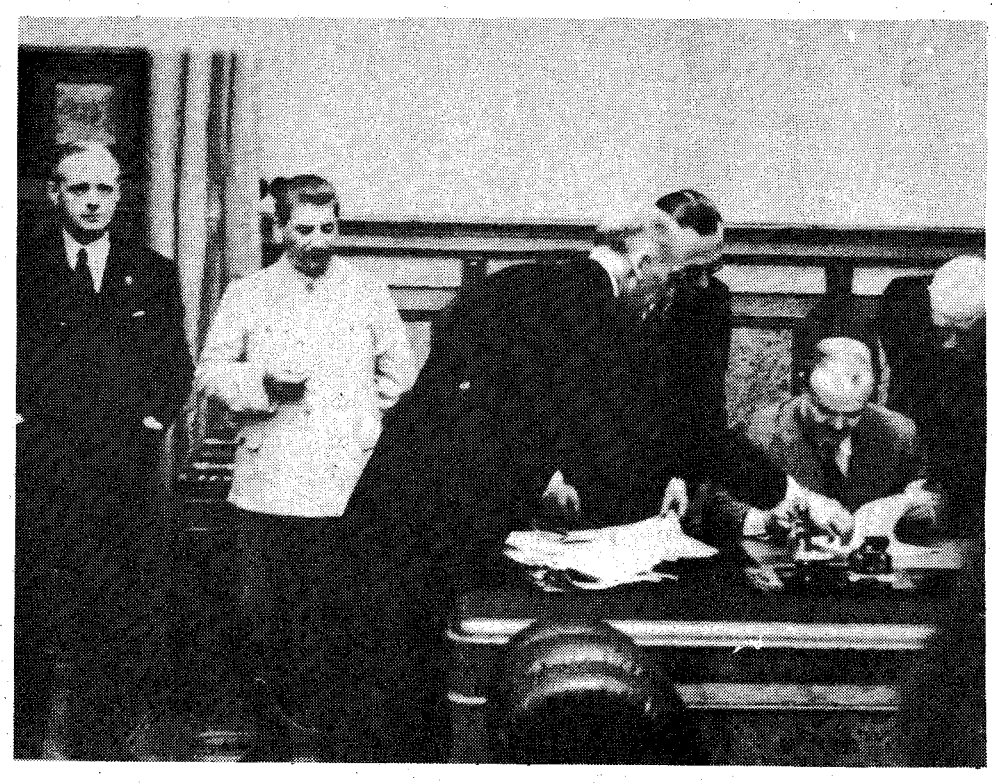
Britain's Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, left, shakes hands with Germany's Adolf Hitler at the time of the Munich pact which in effect guaranteed the loss of Czechoslovakia and helped bring on the Second World War.



Another example of the duplicity of many great power "agreements" was the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of August 1939, which paved the way for the partition of Poland. Above, Stalin looks on as Foreign Minister Molotov signs for the Soviets.

Appeasement Still Thrives

Did the West Ever Learn the 'Lesson of Munich'?

By EUGENE LYONS

(One of the most ignoble chapters of modern history was written 30 years ago with the signing of the Munich Pact, dismembering Czechoslovakia. In the following article a famous journalist and author says that we never did learn the lesson of Munich. Mr. Lyons, who served as United Press correspondent in Moscow in the 1930s, is the author of Assignment in Utopia, The Red Decade, *and* Workers' Paradise Lost.)

The world has ample reason to note and ponder, though not to celebrate, a melancholy anniversary. In Munich, on Sept. 30, 1938, exactly 30 years ago, Neville Chamberlain for Great Britain and Edouard Daladier for France signed the infamous pact consenting to the seizure of Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland by Adolf Hitler.

It was the climax of what one American historian has called "an extraordinary spectacle—the head of the British government journeying to Germany, literally to beg for peace."

Chamberlain returned to London in a triumphant mood, honestly convinced that he had bought "peace in our time" at the bargain price of a third of the territory and population of a small country. The cynical definition of diplomacy as "horse-trading with other people's horses" was once more confirmed.

The deal, it should be recalled, was overwhelmingly acclaimed by the British people, and hailed as a victory by democratic statesmen of other nations, among them President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Winston Churchill growled that it was "a total and unmitigated defeat," but his voice was drowned in the universal jubilation.

All too soon it became tragically clear that Britain and France, far from placating Hitler, had in fact signed away the peace of Europe. Morality aside, the trouble with paying blackmail is its practical futility—the extortionist doesn't stay bought. Having bitten off the Sudetenland, Nazi Germany went on to devour the rest of Czechoslovakia, then sharpened its fangs for Poland.

On that fateful September day three decades ago, a new synonym was born for the concept of "appeasement." Munich, the city where the crime was perpetrated, entered the political lexicon of mankind as shorthand for buying off bullies. In dictionaries today Munich is defined as "an instance or act of ignoble political appeasement" (Funk & Wagnalls) and "any dishonorable appeasement" (Random House).

Innumerable speeches and editorials through the years have invoked the place and the pact to underline not only the ethical shabbiness but the long-run failure of policies of appeasement. There have been endless variations on the theme of "the lessons of Munich." Explicity and by implication we appear to have concluded that "it must never happen again."

The sad truth, however, is that the lessons have not been learned. In these 30 years appeasement has flourished into a way of international life. "Munich" has been practised on a scale, and with pernicious consequences, that put the original happening in the shade. Always the rationale has been "peace in our time," precisely as in 1938. Always it has merely led to more and bigger exactions by the emboldened blackmailers.

The first but not the only victim of the Munich compact, Czechoslovakia, became the prey of another appeasement—of a no less voracious bully—in 1948, when the Allies supinely acquiesced to the seizure of the nation by Stalin, under the threat of Red military force on its frontiers.

And ironically, the anniversary comes in the midst of a third appeasement at the expense of the same unfortunate country. The Kremlin and four of its satellite states have invaded Czechoslovakia and are now systematically crushing its first bid for relative freedom after 20 years of Communist enslavement. The circumstance that no overt pact of surrender by the major democracies was involved makes this latest submission no less an appeasement—the conquest was accepted and guaranteed in advance by the timidity and passivity of the United States and Western Europe.

As the crime was being prepared, even Communist Rumania and Yugoslavia, and major non-Soviet Communist parties, warned Moscow against invading Czechoslovakia, but not the United States or Britain, not France or Italy. Rapidly stepped-up Kremlin threats evoked no counter-threats of the great array of economic and political sanctions open to the free world. On the contrary, these nations hastened to reassure the Soviet oligarchs that they could again get away with naked aggression and genocide.

A Washington dispatch on July 24, for example, reported: "Whatever happens in the coming days, U.S. officials said, the Administration is determined to stay on the sidelines." An unimpeded right of way, that is to say, for Soviet violence.

The build-up for invasion was known to Western intelligence, yet American officialdom chose those very weeks to dramatize its hunger for Soviet "friendship"—with initiation of Moscow-New York air flights, renewed presidential supplication for "bridges" of trade and the rest of the complex which George Bailey summed up on television recently as "entente, detente, and U Thant."

Spokesmen in other Western capitals similarly made evident their dread of "provoking the Soviets into reviving the Cold War." The formula was, and remains—like the rationale in all appeasements—false and self-deluding. The Cold War is very much alive and therefore could not be "revived." Moreover, as one magazine put the matter editorially, "The Kremlin never seems to worry about provoking *us*." Neither does it worry about offending "world opinion."

The underlying Western assumption is that the Soviet bosses are excitable maniacs who must not, God forbid, be irritated, lest they go into tantrums of violence. The assumption, idiotic and self-paralyzing, is highly useful to the Kremlin in its pursuit of further blackmail operations.

The anniversary of Munich offers a convenient opportunity to recall, however briefly, a few of the major appeasements in the intervening 30 years:

The Soviet-Nazi pact on Aug. 29, 1939, which touched off World War II was, of course, a monumental act of appeasement: Stalin's payoff to Hitler for the right to stay out of the conflict. It was no more dishonorable and a lot more profitable to the appeaser, while it lasted, than the Anglo-French surrender in Munich. At least Stalin was rewarded with a share of the booty. But true to the pattern, Hitler violated the bargain as soon as it suited his purposes.

After the war the appeasement of Stalin by Roosevelt, Churchill, Attlee and Truman was vastly larger than the Chamberlain-Daladier appeasement of Hitler, and if anything less honorable. In Munich, only the Sudetenland was sacrificed on the altar of "peace." In Yalta and Potsdam, the victorious Allies turned over to Moscow's totalitarian mercies close to 100 million people in Central-Eastern Europe, plus missions of Asians in Manchuria and Korea.

Whatever doubts remained about the appeasing nature of the Yalta-Potsdam settlement were soon erased as Moscow, unopposed, put its yoke on one after another of the nations affected.

Policies of appeasement were at the heart of American and West European failure to support popular rebellions in East Germany in 1953, in Hungary in 1956, and then in Tibet. We did not so much as leave a margin of doubt about our intentions, which might have curbed Soviet blood-lust, but apprised the colonial power at once of our hands-off policies.

One of the most ignoble and costliest tragedies of appeasement was played out in Korea after U.S. and U.N. forces had reached the Yalu River and liberated all Koreans from Communist despotism.

We held all the strategic cards at that juncture, including control of the air and a near-monopoly of operative nuclear weapons. We could have destroyed, without resort to nuclear force, the cream of the Chinese armies, concentrated on the Manchurian side of the Yalu, and probably headed off the subsequent aggressions in Laos and South Viet Nam. At the very least we could have kept them out of Korea.

Instead—once more in the name of "peace," to avoid "alarming" Moscow and offending "world opinion"—we chose to grant Red China a privileged sanctuary in Manchuria, from which it launched a devastatingly successful counteroffensive. The overwhelming majority of American and Allied casualties in the entire war were suffered in the retreat from the Yalu and after the start of phony peace talks. And Korea is still without peace—witness the seizure

Continued on page 15

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California Grape Boycott: The Big Lie at Work

By MURRAY NORRIS

Why should anyone want to boycott California grapes?

Because the workers receive low pay?

Nonsense.

California farm workers are among the highest paid in the entire world. And grape pickers are probably the best paid in the state, averaging well over $2 an hour. And California's farm workers have far more benefits than workers in any other state in the nation.

There appears only one answer for the boycott: Cesar Chavez has tried for three years to organize the grape pickers and has failed. Now he wants to force his "union" on the workers whether they like it or not.

California's Gov. Ronald Reagan has charged that across this nation there have been misrepresentations about the wages and working conditions on the California farms. This has been a blatant attempt to get the support of do-gooders, church groups and others from outside the area. All of this has been spawned by the Chavez movement, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, which is based in Delano.

But in Delano, Chavez has failed to recruit more than a mere handful of workers to his banner. So few are these union workers that they cannot even harvest the grapes on the three local ranches that have union contracts. In fact, last fall, grapes rotted on these farms because there were no union workers.

One grower, Perelli-Minetti, finally hired crews from a non-union labor contractor to save a portion of his crop. They worked in the same field with the union crew. And, for the same wages.

Another grower, DiGiorgio Farms, has quit shipping table grapes from Delano and now uses the crop for wine. This means that the number of workers needed at peak season has been cut from 1,200 to only 50. Or, in the words of Delano townspeople, Chavez and his union have destroyed 1,150 jobs in the Delano area.

The third union grower, Schenley, has pulled out nearly 500 acres of bearing grape vines because they could not get them harvested with the inefficient and indifferent union workers.

This is the full result of three years of "recruiting" by Chavez and his cohorts. Violence has marked this recruiting at times and has become so rampant that wives of the farm workers formed a group known as Mothers Against Chavez to make their plight known.

They told of a mother of three being beaten and left on one of Delano's main streets about 9 p.m. As the assailants left her lying bloody in the street they warned that it would be worse next time if her husband didn't quit working in the vineyards.

Another mother of four told of a 3 a.m. telephone call threatening to harm her daughter if her husband continued to work outside the union.

A grandmother said she was packing grapes in the field one afternoon when men she called "union goons" came through breaking boxes and overturning tables and scattering grapes.

The Mothers Against Chavez collected signed statements of this abuse and sent it to the state's attorney general. The attorney general did nothing formally, but the violence calmed down for a while and Cesar went on his highly publicized 23-day fast to emphasize the "non-violence" of his organizing activities.

More recently the violence has returned with farm buses burned and a worker shot down when he tried to stop men who were bashing in the windows of his car.

Other workers who have left the union have been beaten up and one was put in the hospital when his car was run off the road.

Farm workers say Chavez has returned to violence because he has failed to organize them. That is also why he is pushing so hard with the grape boycott. He is attempting to force the growers to recognize his UFWOC as bargaining agent for the workers whether the workers want to join the union or not. Gov. Reagan agrees with this analysis.

Union officials bluntly state that if they can crack the grape growers, they will have the way open to organize all 300,000 of the California farm laborers. And after California, the nation.

There are only 70 farms shipping table grapes. They average 450 acres each. All but two of these farms are operated by families which include fathers, sons and other relatives.

These growers have always provided good conditions for their workers. For instance, in 1964, the year before Chavez came on the scene, the national average wage for farm workers was only $1 an hour. At that time, these grape growers were paying an average of $1.73. Today the average is between $2.25 and $2.50 an hour.

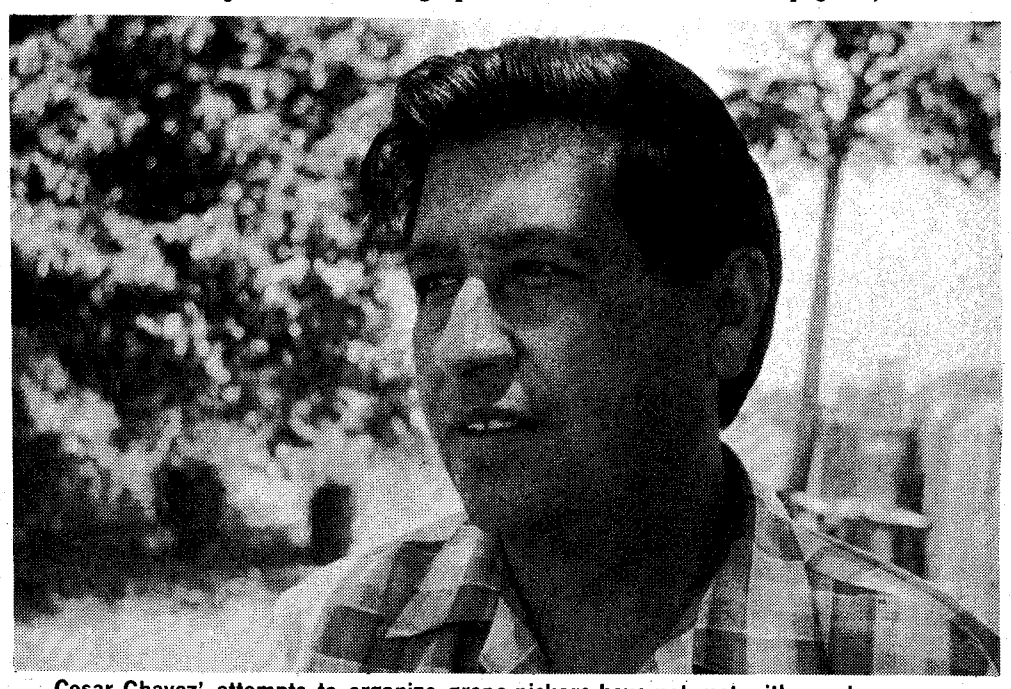
Chavez claims he has 17,000 members in his organization. But it takes only 5,000 workers to harvest the $2.5-million worth of grapes in the Delano area. And after the four-month harvest is ended, some 2,500 of these workers can get another four to eight months work girdling, stripping, tying vines and irrigating. For many the work lasts all year. Some get free housing and free transportation in addition to their wages.

More than 90 per cent of the grape pickers live permanently in and around Delano. Most of the peak harvest pickers come from the wives, teen-age children and other relatives of these regular workers. True migrant workers, from outside the Delano area, constitute only a tiny handful of the grape workers.

The growers say they do not oppose a union for the workers, but they do not want to force the workers into a union shop under a man like Chavez whom they repudiate.

Also, the growers want some protection against a strike at harvest time.

(Continued on page 10)



Cesar Chavez' attempts to organize grape pickers have not met with much success, but he and his followers feel if they can "crack" the grape workers, other farm laborers will fall in line.

Mr. Norris has had a long career in newspaper and magazine reporting. For the last 18 years he has concentrated on farm stories and in 1966 was awarded an Associated Press prize for his articles on farm workers.

Conversation With a Mexican Farm Worker

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

Delano, Calif.:—The sun-bronzed Mexican approached me hesitantly. He knew I was a newspaperman, but he spoke no English. The other grape pickers urged him to speak and I told him, "**Hablo espanol.**" Then he told his story.

He was a Mexican worker—call him Juan—one of those allowed into the country on an immigration permit—the so-called "green card"—to take advantage of the high wages in the San Joaquin grape country. What he made in the United States picking grapes supported his family in Mexico for the rest of the year. He worked at one of the bustling vineyards which Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee tell the world is on strike. In short, Juan is one more of the 8,000 to 10,000 grape pickers in Delano who have made the 500-member UFWOC a grim joke in that center of table-grape production.

A week before, as Juan was picking grapes, a man representing himself as an Immigration officer approached him. "He told me," Juan said, "that because I was working at a 'struck' vineyard, I could lose my green card. He said I could be deported and never permitted to return here to work. I was so frightened that I stayed away for three days. Now I have come back but I am still afraid. Can I be deported for not joining the union?"

I told him that he could not be deported for continuing to work.

This may be a local phenomenon—the activity of men who have fallen under the influence, to put it charitably, of Mr. Chavez and the hundreds of thousands of dollars contributed to his "cause" by the AFL-CIO and other organizations. But this is not the only case in which the federal government has involved itself in the divisive and destructive campaign of Cesar Chavez. The original financing for his drive against the grape pickers of the San Joaquin Valley, according to the findings of a fact-finding committee of the California Legislature, came from the Office of Economic Opportunity, which gave Mr. Chavez a grant of $247,000.

A House Labor and Education subcommittee, headed by Rep. John H. Dent (D.-Pa.), suddenly appeared in Delano to hold "hearings" on the organizing drive headed by Mr. Chavez. Less than 24 hours notice was given to the anti-Chavez organizations and to the grape growers. In violation of congressional protocol, Rep. Bob Mathias, who represents the district, was kept in complete ignorance. But the UFWOC was given more than a week's notice.

As a result, the Chavez "union" was there with flags flying and mimeograph machines rolling. The growers indignantly refused to appear and were denounced by Rep. Dent for their "arrogance." And when the pickers, in dusty work clothes, showed up and asked to be heard, they were met by angry questions from the chairman.

This may be why, at an orderly but enthusiastic rally of the grape pickers to protest the depredations of the Chavez drive, so many placards for Republican candidates were in evidence, with not a one for the Democrats. This is why the grape pickers have turned to Republican members of the California Legislature to introduce measures that will end the threat to them now posed by the Chavez activists.

And this is why, someone ironically observed: "If George Meany and the AFL-CIO want a right-to-work law in California, all they have to do is continue to back Cesar Chavez." For the fact is that the efforts of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee to ram compulsory unionism down the throats of the grape pickers in the San Joaquin Valley have already begun to convince some astute politicians that right-to-work, once political suicide in California, may soon be an attractive issue.

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Continued from Page 9

They have seen the grapes rotting in other vineyards because of the lack of union help. They have heard of the $7-million loss to pineapple growers in Hawaii because the union there went on strike at harvest time. They have been watching tomatoes rot in California fields because the union is on strike against Campbell Soup Co. during this year's harvest. They hope they will not have to face similar losses if their workers join a union.

Chavez and his followers say the growers are exploiting the grape pickers. Rev. Wayne Hartmeyer, head of the staunchly pro-Chavez Migrant Ministry, says that the workers earn less than $3,000 a year. That's less than the poverty level set by government officials.

But Fresno County Welfare Director Reed K. Clegg complains that many farm families have a take home pay in excess of $1,000 a month. He gave one family as an example: They earned $931 in farm wages during the month of July. Then they received a welfare grant of $424 and had a total take home pay of $1,355 for one month. Other counties are having similar experiences.

A farm counselor in Ventura County said the biggest problem he handles for his 8,000 farm workers is income taxes. Most of the workers earn from $5,000 to $8,000 a year and the federal government will not allow the farmers to deduct withholding taxes from farm wages. This means that the farm worker has to come up with $300 to $600 in one lump sum by April 15—a time when work is light and money is hard to come by. The counselor urges the men to set up savings accounts in the bank to cover the taxes.

So far, many of the workers have taken his advice.

California farm workers have disability insurance, minimum wage laws, child labor laws, and several laws regulating the quality of farm housing, labor camps and transportation provided by farmers.

Striking grape pickers march during a California demonstration. These, however, are a minority as most of the California farm laborers resent Cesar Chavez' attempts to unionize them.

Some growers even give pickers vacations with pay, life insurance and other fringe benefits. Other states provide few, if any, of these extras. Yet they seem determined to condemn California with a boycott.

What should they negotiate?

Wages? When they are paying better than $2 an hour?

Conditions? When they are better than anywhere else in the nation?

The union says it represents the workers, but the workers say no.

Only a few weeks ago, field workers and their families—3,000 strong—gathered in the Delano park for a picnic and to plan a campaign against Chavez. A few Sundays later, 5,000 people turned out for a similar picnic in Bakersfield. They decided to attack those who support Chavez starting with the local Roman Catholic bishop.

More than 100 pickets turned up at a seminar held in Fresno by UFWOC under the auspices of Bishop Timothy Manning whose diocese includes Delano.

A second move was to picket merchants who advertised in the bishop's newspaper. This move was so successful that the newspaper editor said his advertising revenue was cut by $20,000.

Jose Mendosa, who heads the group known as Agricultural Workers Freedom to Work Committee, said more and more union members are quitting Chavez. He figured the union was down to some 30 families, including children, aunts, uncles, and the like.

The mere formation of the anti-Chavez group has given many courage to quit the union where they feared to leave before, he said.

Mendosa has also taken pickets to Los Angeles where they hand out leaflets which say farm workers make more money than some of the clerks in stores boycotting grapes. They urge the readers to boycott New York products in retaliation for that state's boycott of California grapes.

This type of thinking has been expanded by State Sen. Hugh Burns, Democratic president pro tem of the upper house of the California Legislature. He is urging Gov. Reagan to halt all purchases from Michigan, New York and any other state that refuses to buy California produce. He has promised to offer a bill to this effect at the next legislative session. He has even refused to support or vote for Vice President Hubert Humphrey because of the candidate's support of the boycott.

Gov. Reagan has called the boycott "illegal and immoral" and said he is urging the legislature to pass laws that will protect both farmers and workers during collective bargaining.

Farm workers are not covered by the National Labor Relations Act, and the governor feels the state should provide something similar to protect the agricultural industry and workers too. In this he has the backing of the Roman Catholic bishops of California who have twice called for such legislation in joint statements.

Along with other state officials, Burns and Reagan agree that if the grape boycott is successful, other crops will be next. And some officials insist that if boycotts and counter-boycotts continue, they could cause economic chaos of such proportions that it could take generations to straighten out.

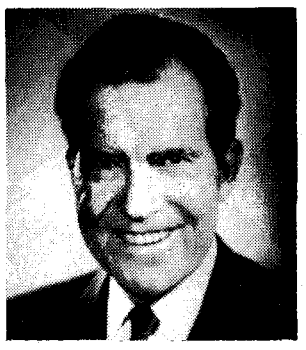
The present boycott is not only hurting farmers and farm workers who are fighting Chavez, but it is hurting other small farmers and farm workers who are not involved in the dispute, as well as those who have already signed union contracts.

The time has come for the farmers to get their story to the people and for Eastern politicians and leaders to check out conditions at Delano before they consent to ban California grapes.

The mayor of Vancouver, British Columbia, went to Delano and made an on-the-spot investigation before he would make a decision on the boycott. He said he had heard how bad conditions were and that children as young as 10 years old were working in the vineyards. He found conditions were better than he expected and the youngest workers were age 16.

After two days in the vineyards, checking the books of the growers, and meeting with Chavez, he returned to Vancouver to recommend against the boycott.

Couldn't some of our American leaders do as much as this Canadian?



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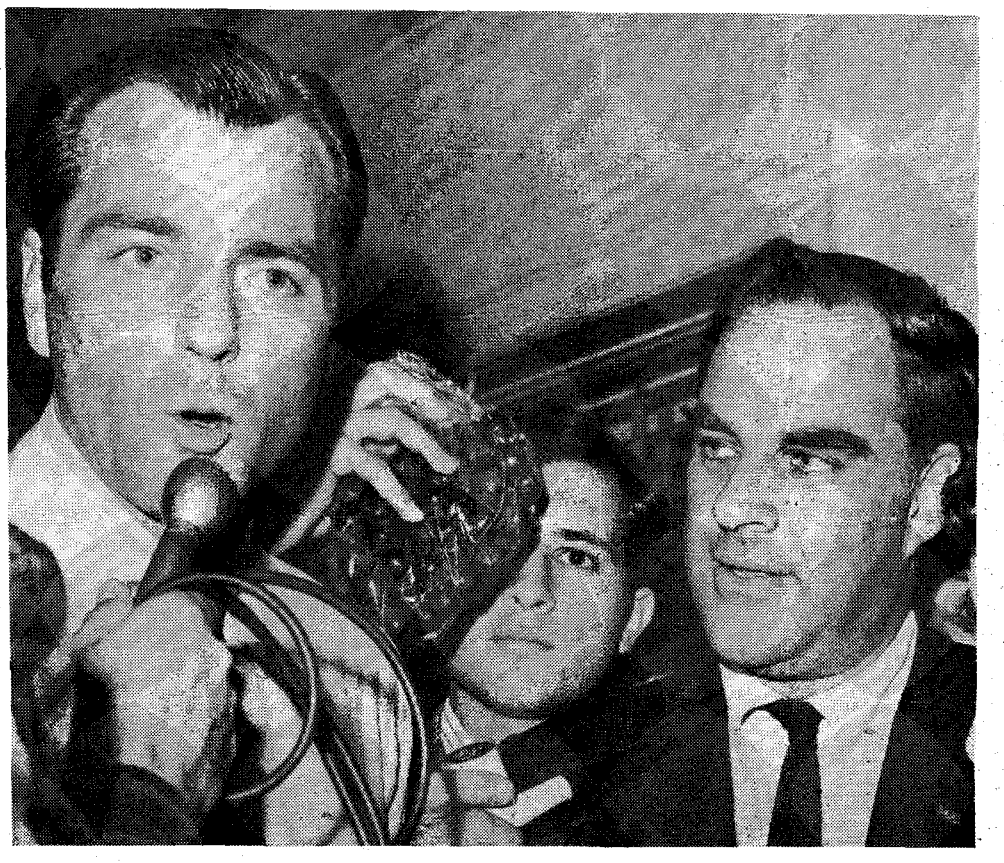

California's GOP Rep. Bob Mathias recently distributed grapes to all the other congressmen in order to promote the state's grape industry which has come under fire from Cesar Chavez and his minions. But some liberals, including Rep. James Scheuer (D.-N.Y.), at right, have backed the union demands. In this scene Scheuer is returning Mathias' grapes as the former Olympic star explains his support of the grape growers.

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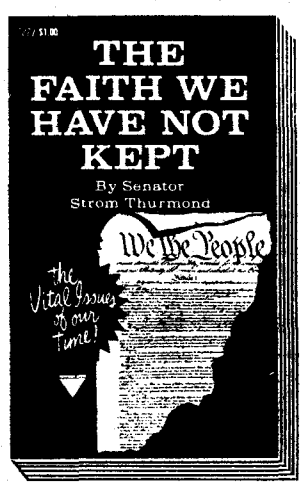

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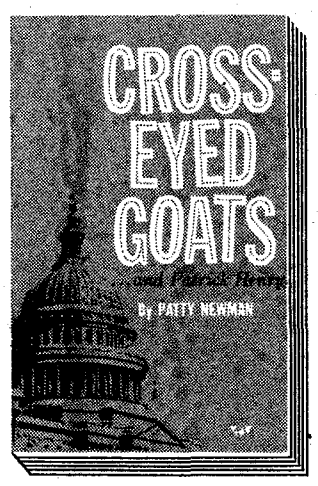

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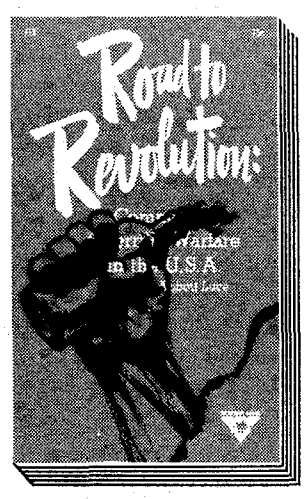

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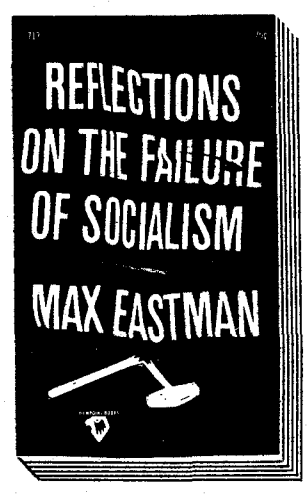

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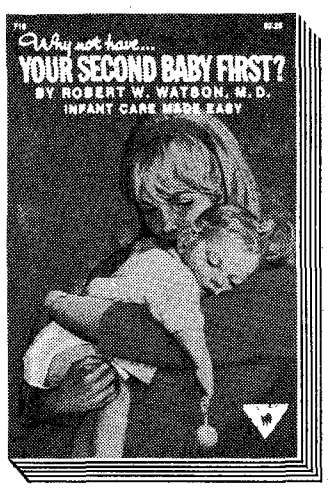

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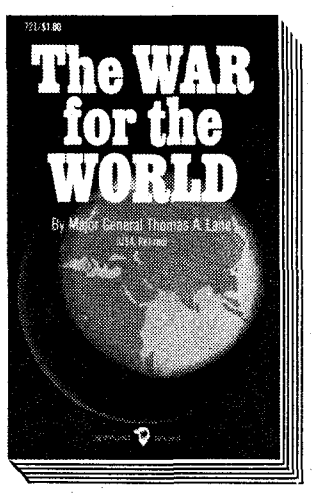

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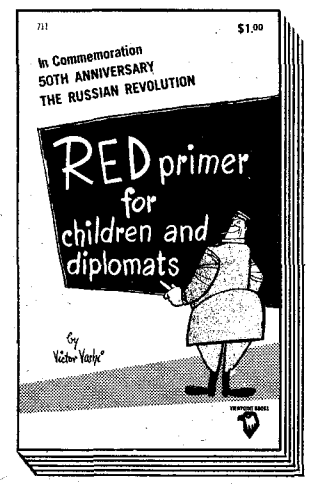

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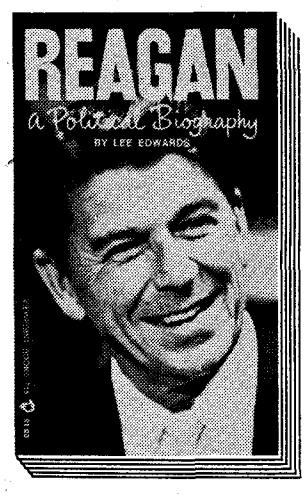

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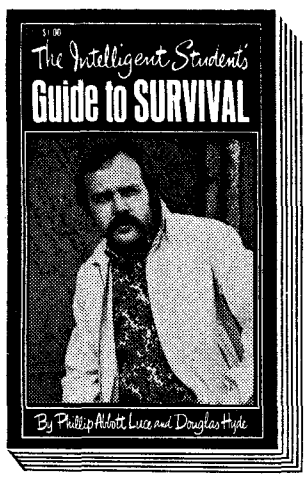

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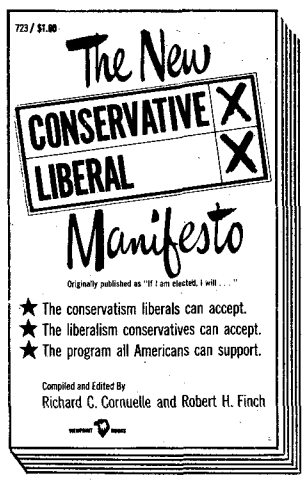
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RACES of the WEEK

Maine's 2nd District

Shute vs. Hathaway

"This is our last chance," a Republican leader in Maine's 2nd Congressional District said recently. "If we don't get him now, we may never."

"He" is incumbent Rep. William D. Hathaway, a liberal Democrat who seeks a third term this fall. Hathaway was carried into Congress in the Johnson landslide of 1964, then re-elected two years later with 56 per cent of the vote. GOP leaders fear that if re-elected again, Hathawy will become so deeply entrenched that he will become virtually unbeatable.

Polls taken by GOP candidate Denny Shute indicate that Hathaway has done a masterful job in fudging his record, convincing voters that he is an "independent" legislator. Many voters are unaware that he is even a Democrat.

Shute is linking Hathaway with the Johnson Administration at every opportunity. "I am running against an ultra-liberal Democrat who is 100 per cent Johnson-Humphrey," he says. "He is a supporter and contributor to the dismal LBJ-HHH record of failure."

Shute is hitting hard at Hathaway's 100 per cent support of Administration spending programs; his vote against the flag desecration bill; and his opposition to legislation cutting off federal aid to college rioters.

A radio executive, Shute is well known in the southern portion of the nine-county district, having won election to the state legislature from Franklin County (Farmington) two years ago. Thus, he is concentrating his campaign in populous Bangor and Arooscott County (Prescott Isle) where he is a comparative unknown. Experts in both parties admit the election will probably be won or lost there. (Shute for Congress Committee: 96 Harlow St., Bangor, Me.)

DENNY SHUTE

Shute announced his candidacy in February, began full-time campaigning in June. He is on the go from early morning to late at night, six days a week, greeting voters and spelling out his conservative philosophy. A typical day will open at 7 a.m. at a plant gate where the candidate will solicit votes and hand out literature. This is followed by hand-shaking tours with local GOP candidates, a civic meeting at lunch, interviews with local radio, TV and news people, another hand-shaking tour, and, at evening, appearances at one or more "candidate's nights" at which he again hits hard at Hathaway.

Hathaway is campaigning as a member of the "Muskie team," linking himself at every opportunity with the Democratic nominee for vice president. This is ironical because Hathaway, an all-out supporter of the late Sen. Robert Kennedy, actively opposed Maine Democrats who favored Muskie as their favorite son at the Democratic National Convention.

California's 17th District

Blatchford vs. Anderson

California's 17th Congressional District, a Democratic bastion for more than two decades, is now a closely contested battle ground, with a fresh-faced young Republican given an excellent—if uphill—chance for victory.

The Republican is Joe Blatchford, a 34-year-old former Wimbleton tennis player, a lawyer and originator of a highly successful "private peace corps" in Latin America. Blatchford, an articulate young conservative, is waging an aggressive campaign for the seat long occupied by Democrat Cecil King.

King is retiring and local Democrats have put up the ultra-liberal Glenn Anderson, a veteran politician who two years ago was ousted as lieutenant governor by more than a million votes, receiving only 38 per cent of the vote in his own congressional district.

GOP leaders are centering their attention on the 17th district because it has become increasingly Republican in recent years. While Blatchford is fast making inroads into Anderson's strength, the liberal Democrat still has the edge

JOE BLATCHFORD

because of union support and the fact that Democrats still outregister Republicans.

The Blatchford forces are convinced, however, that Anderson can be defeated, particularly if his record is revealed to the voters.

In 1950, for instance, nine leading members of the Los Angeles County Democratic Central Committee sharply criticized Anderson for not supporting President Truman's decision to repulse Red aggression in Korea and added: "The leadership of the committee under its present chairman, Glenn Anderson . . .has done nothing to curb those members of the committee who would seek to make it a sounding board for Communist propaganda."

Several years later Anderson helped found the far-left California Democratic Council which went on record advocating the recognition of Red China; abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities; deletion of the words "under God" from the Pledge of Allegiance; and amnesty for Viet Nam war draft evaders.

As lieutenant governor in 1965, Anderson delayed long hours before acceding to local requests and calling out the National Guard to end the Watts riots. He was the only state official cited in the McCone Report as contributing to the bloody riot that convulsed the Los Angeles area.

Republican Blatchford is a graduate of UCLA and the University of California Law School at Berkeley. An Army lieutenant for two years, Blatchford in 1957 served as legislative aide to conservative Rep. Ralph Gwinn of New York and as a speech writer and researcher for the House Education and Labor Committee. He later founded the much-heralded ACCION International, a private organization that has battled poverty through free enterprise concepts in such Latin American countries as Venezuela, Brazil and Peru. Publicized in *Reader's Digest* and *Time* magazines, ACCION is called by a 1964 U.S. Army handbook "an effective approach to combat Communist influence in the slums and villages" in underdeveloped lands.

Making his first run for public office, the handsome young attorney is hitting hard on the issues, advocating decisive action on law and order; a curb on excessive federal spending; an end to abuses of welfare benefits that threaten the deserving; and a foreign policy in which Washington stands behind her citizens and ships captured abroad." He vigorously opposed the nomination of Abe Fortas and has rebuked the Administration for failing to retaliate against the Soviets economically for invading Czechoslovakia. (Blatchford for Congress Committee: 3931 West Artesia Blvd., Torrance, Calif. 90504)

Connecticut's 4th District

Weicker vs. Irwin

It has been a full year since Lowell Weicker Jr. kicked off his campaign for the House of Representatives. "I believe in starting early," explained the 37-year-old Connecticut state representative, and the strategy has paid off handsomely.

Incumbent Democrat Donald Irwin admits that he is running second and GOP leaders are confident that Weicker can hold the lead. Weicker, a former Greenwich mayor, is hammering hard at Irwin's record.

"He's such a rubber stamp that we might as well have LBJ for our congressman," the GOP nominee says, citing Irwin's down-the-line support (94 per cent) of "Great Society" programs. "Food for Nasser, domestic boondoggles, you name it, Irwin's there when Johnson needs him."

LOWELL WEICKER JR.

Law and order has emerged as perhaps the crucial issue, with Weicker dubbing Irwin the "permissive politician." Irwin, he notes, either opposed or failed to vote on the anti-riot bill, the draft card mutilation bill, and the Wyman amendment to cut off federal funds to student rioters.

The fourth district is chronically marginal (Irwin was re-elected two years ago with 51 per cent of the vote) and Weicker is waging a tireless campaign. He is at the train stations at 6 a.m. greeting New York-bound commuters, then tours industrial areas and shopping centers until evening. On those nights when he is not making speeches, Weicker is usually moving from neighborhood to neighborhood in an elaborately equipped mobile headquarters, meeting voters at "drive-in parties" that his supporters have arranged.

Fourth District Republicans have long been plagued by intra-party squabbles, but Weicker has made a major effort to bring warring factions together. He has largely succeeded and goes into the final weeks of the campaign with a united party behind him. (Weicker for Congress Committee: 36 Sherwood Place, Greenwich, Conn.)

In sharp contrast, local Democrats are bitterly split. Irwin didn't help things when at the Democratic National Convention he assailed Sen. Abe Ribicoff as a "creep." Ribicoff, who is running for re-election on the same ticket with Irwin, has reportedly passed the word that "he couldn't care less" what happens to his colleague this fall.

A number of key Ribicoff supporters are sitting out the Irwin-Weicker race. So are some McCarthyites, disgusted by Irwin's consistent support of the Johnson war policy.

Irwin and Weicker have met thus far in televised debate four times, but Democratic strategists are urging their man to decline further confrontations. "Don's the incumbent and doesn't need the publicity," explained one Democratic leader. "Besides, that Weicker did pretty good."

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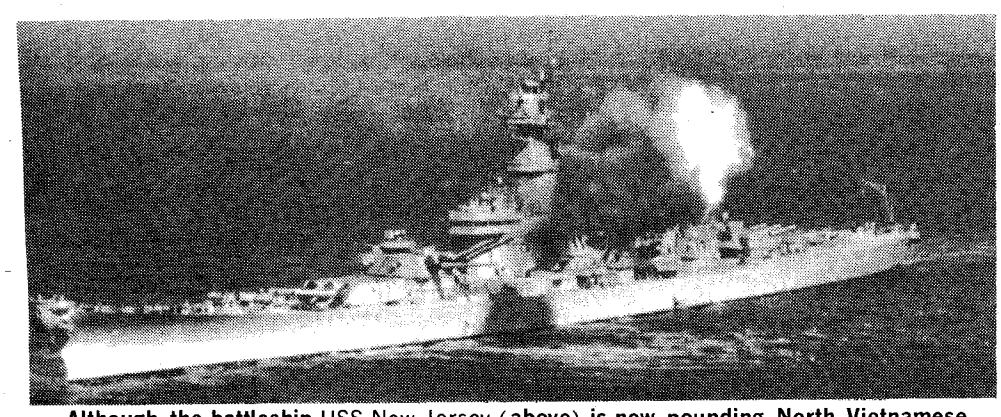

Although the battleship USS New Jersey **(above) is now pounding North Vietnamese targets, the question is still raised whether the United States has sufficient rocket power to hit major enemy targets.**

Clifford Challenged

Is U.S. Holding Back On Rockets in Viet Nam?

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

Defense Secretary Clark Clifford is being put squarely on the spot to disclose whether the U.S. has rockets similar to those being used by the Communists to indiscriminately batter South Vietnamese communities and civilians. Also, if the U.S. does have such weapons, why they aren't being employed against North Vietnamese population centers and military targets.

These highly pertinent questions have been bluntly put to Clark by Rep. H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa), influential member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, following an unsuccessful effort to get this information from Democratic congressional leaders.

Their ambiguous and evasive replies to Gross' inquiries about the failure of the U.S. to use ground-to-ground and air-to-ground rockets against the Communists gave rise to the strong suspicion that this country does not have such weapons.

To get at the bottom of this deeply disturbing mystery, Gross has written Clifford asking for explicit answers to the following:

"Does the United States have ground-to-ground intermediate rockets and/or missiles capable of being fired from the forward areas of South Viet Nam and reaching the centers of population as well as military targets in North Viet Nam? If the United States does possess such weapons, why have they not been used?

"If we do not have such weapons, why don't we have them?

"Also, does the United States have air-to-ground rockets and/or missiles capable of reaching ground targets without subjecting our aircraft and crews to the concentrated aircraft defenses of the North Vietnamese? If we have such rockets and/or missiles, why are they not being used? If we do not have such weapons, please explain why we don't have them."

Gross' forthright questions may explode a bombshell in the hectic election campaign now in progress throughout the country.

Admission by Clark that the U.S. does not have intermediate ground-to-ground rockets or air-to-ground missiles would almost certainly set off a furious political attack from the Republicans. The Johnson Administration would find itself heavily on the defensive justifying or explaining the failure to develop such weapons.

Gross, in a discussion with Rep. George Mahon (D.-Tex.), chairman of the powerful House Appropriations Committee, asserted there is widespread perplexity throughout the U.S. over the failure to use missiles against key North Vietnamese targets.

"Why is it," said Gross, "that we do not use rockets and/or missiles to hit in retaliation the North Viet Nam nerve center of Hanoi and the chief supply port of Haiphong to cut off supplies and paralyze the Communist war effort? Is it possible we have no intermediate-range missiles capable of reaching these sanctuaries and areas which up to now have been left untouched in North Viet Nam?"

Mahon, in effect, dodged making a direct answer. Gross thereupon put this extremely important issue squarely up to Defense Secretary Clifford and is now waiting to see what he does—if anything.

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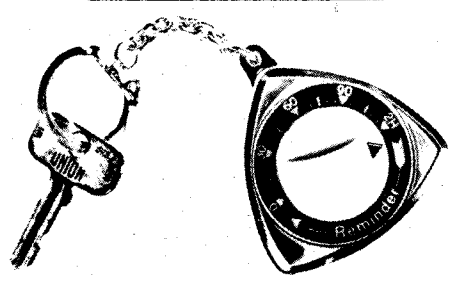

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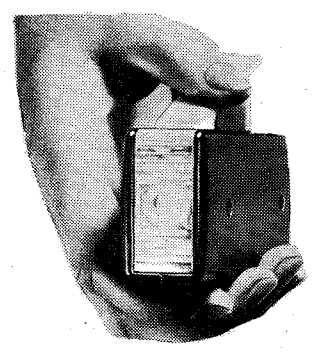

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Metamorphosis of Walter Lippmann

From the Chicago *Tribune*

We don't know whether Richard Nixon can survive this, but Walter Lippmann, the oracle, has come out in favor of his candidacy for President. Everything has been going well with Nixon's campaign so far, but into each life some rain must fall, and Lippmann is it.

His indorsement is, it goes without saying, reluctant, but it appears to him "the better, though not the most beautiful, course." His own pre-convention choice was Nelson Rockefeller.

Lippmann feels that "there is no way of expunging the Administration's record since January 1965," and that "the voters should oust the party which has cost the country so much."

Switcheroos are nothing new in Lippmann's ideological career. Four years ago he regarded Barry Goldwater, the Republican candidate, as a devil with horns, while Lyndon Johnson was an eminently reasonable man, who had put away "childish things." This honeymoon went on for quite a while after Johnson was elected. Lippmann was high in praise of the Johnson "consensus," and he thought the New Economics capable of endless miracles. But by last year he had decided that the country was "in a mess" and that the re-election of Johnson would place it in "a very dangerous condition."

By the time he scribbled his *Newsweek* column three weeks ago, he had come to the conclusion that "the Democrats deserve to be put out of power, and would benefit by staying out of power."

In 1952, when Dwight Eisenhower was appearing on the scene as a political possibility, no one was more insistent than Lippmann that he must be nominated and elected. The general then seemed to the columnist to be just what the doctor ordered for the country.

But by 1960 Lippmann had accomplished another flip-flop. He announced that Eisenhower was not "preparing the country for the needs of the 1960s" and "does not understand the necessity of greater allocation of our resources, in a growing economy, to public needs."

Messrs. Kennedy and Johnson certainly put all the money they could lay their hands on into government spending, but—Johnson got us bogged down in Viet Nam. So Lippmann again has headed for the nearest exit.

The great man's favor is fickle. Judging from his record of indorsements and desertions, Mr. Nixon had better not count on his constancy.

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The How and Why of Disaster

By M. STANTON EVANS

The most talked-about people at this year's Republican national convention were of course the chief contenders for presidential preferment. Second only to these luminaries was Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina—widely credited with delivering the nomination to Richard Nixon and producing the selection of Spiro Agnew as Nixon's running mate. For someone who became a Republican only four short years ago,

"The Faith We Have Not Kept"
by Senator Strom Thurmond, $1

"The War for the World"
by Gen. Thomas A. Lane, $1

(Both books published by Viewpoint Books, P.O. Box 9622, San Diego, Calif. 92109)

Thurmond has risen quickly to major-power status in the party.

Thurmond has been a noted figure in American politics for the past 20 years, best known for his States Rights presidential run of 1948 and his conversion to the GOP under Barry Goldwater in 1964. His performance in Miami, however, has placed him at the center of the American political drama and stirred a new wave of interest in his character and opinions. Most of the interest has been hostile.

Leftward pundits have bitterly denounced Thurmond as a "racist" and expressed their outrage that he should have played so important a role in the Republican proceedings. Anyone who knows Thurmond knows these assertions are false; the senator's new book, *The Faith We Have Not Kept*, shows how false they are.

The Thurmond volume contains nothing that could remotely be described as "racism"—although it does contain legitimate criticisms of some Supreme Court decisions handed down in the realm of "civil rights," as well as in several other departments of government. It provides instead a wide-ranging view of the ills afflicting American society, in which "civil rights" and Supreme Court alike occupy subsidiary albeit significant positions. The subjects covered include everything from the war on poverty to foreign policy, with major emphasis on the latter. And they are covered very sensibly indeed.

Those who have followed Thurmond's legislative career know that he and his staff are sticklers for doing their homework. This characteristic shows up prominently in *The Faith We Have Not Kept*. The book abounds with facts, figures and documentary references on crime, the growth of domestic government, the alleged "mellowing" of communism, the muzzling of U.S. military officers, internal security flaps, and the one-sided disarmament program conducted by the Kennedy-Johnson regimes.

In the large number of subjects handled, the book suggests Thurmond's versatility and comprehensive knowledge of public issues. In the steadiness of its attention to matters affecting the popular liberty, it suggests his devotion to principle. Although the discussion embraces almost every aspect of the contemporary crisis, and touches on matters as seemingly diverse as the gross national product of Hungary and the antics of the Federal Communications Commission, it is formed by a single overriding concern: The duties of the American government to its citizens, and the extent to which freedom suffers when those duties are neglected.

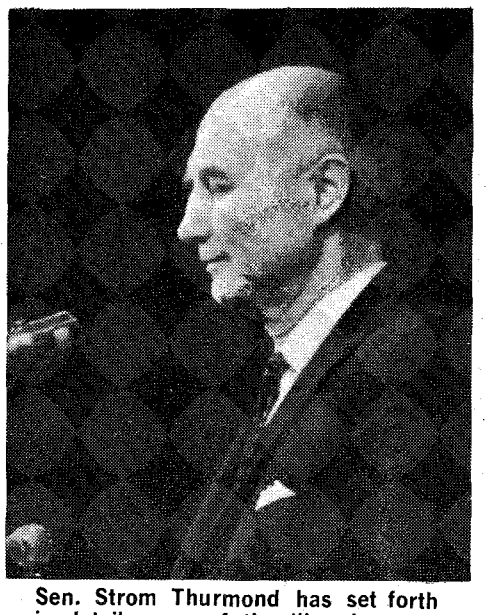
The book displays an excellent grasp of what are sometimes called the "paradigmatic" functions of government—that is, the basic, order-keeping functions—and the degree to which these are essential to freedom. It argues that government exists to maintain a system of order in which men may go peacefully about their affairs in mutal freedom. The first duty of government must therefore be to protect the governed from domestic criminals and foreign enemies. If this isn't done, the reign of violence ensues and there can be no freedom for anybody.

Thurmond documents the fact that freedom is threatened at this level as well as at the level of overt compulsion. He shows that the liberal state is dangerous not only for what it controls, but for what it does not control. Our government has set out to impose coercions which the founders sought to prohibit, but will not perform the functions which legitimately fall to it. The same liberals who want to regulate the packaging of soap flakes will not put criminals behind bars or make rational provision for defenses against communism.

As Thurmond explores the factual record of liberal default, Gen. Thomas A. Lane, chairman of Americans for Constitutional Action, explores the psychology behind it. Thurmond gives us the how of modern calamity; Gen. Lane, in *The War for the World*, provides the why of it.

Lane's book is a study of the pliant liberal intellect in conflict with the revolutionary zeal of communism. It explains the otherwise inexplicable fact that for the past generation the physically weaker Communists have maintained the initiative and won repeated victories, while the liberal West has fallen back from one disaster to another. The difference in results, Lane demonstrates, stems from a difference in mentality.

Lane sets forth two separate trains of psychological development and follows them to their point of conjunction in the Cold War. The Communists, he shows, are driven by the Faustian desire to command and conquer and destroy, objectives to which they are committed by doctrine and emotional stance alike. He suggests their essential outlook in the words of Nechayev: "The revolutionary enters into the world of the state, of the privileged classes, of the so-called civilization, and he lives



Sen. Strom Thurmond has set forth in detail many of the liberal-caused blunders in U.S. foreign and domestic policy.

in this world only for the purpose of bringing about its total and speedy destruction."

Despite repeated demonstrations that this is, precisely, the Communist position, Western liberals have refused to believe it. They keep assuring themselves that the Bolsheviks have changed, that they can be trusted to abide by agreements, that they are willing to live with us in "peaceful coexistence." Lane attributes this perpetual illusion to the growing intellectual softness of Western society.

Recent generations in America, he notes, "have been born to comfort and ease. They have not experienced the struggle with the elemental forces of nature which created the nation. They live on illusions derived essentially from their desire to retain and enjoy, without struggle, the wealth and security which they inherited. They deceive themselves with wishful thinking that they inhabit a world from which force has been banished and in which reason prevails."

Men who live by such fantasies are ill-equipped to deal with the manic energies of the Nechayev revolutionist. Small wonder, then, that we have been losing the Cold War. The Communists have been fighting it while we have been pretending that it doesn't exist. Americans who would like to correct the situation can make a very passable start by reading Gen. Lane's analysis and Sen. Thurmond's documentary.

□□□

MATURITY—"U Thant says he's sure that most of the 124 member-nations of the United Nations, if given a chance, would vote for the United States to quit bombing North Viet Nam. Which only suggests that nations ought to be 21 before they can vote, too."
—From the Birmingham *News*

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION
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1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	4,881	4,550
2. Mail subscriptions	95,021	120,012
C. Total paid circulation	99,902	124,562
D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means	86	95
E. Total distribution	99,988	124,657
F. Office use, left-over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	1,012	1,343
G. Total	101,000	126,000

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

ROBERT D. KEPHART, *Publisher*

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Welfare Costs

By REP. BILL BROCK (R.-Tenn.)

Edward Gibbon, who wrote of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, said, " . . . no State, without being soon exhausted, can maintain above the hundredth part of its members in arms and idleness." If Gibbon was right, America is in trouble. In 1967, 9.134 million citizens (4.6 per cent of our population) were receiving some form of public assistance. Also in fiscal 1967, public assistance payments became, for the first time, the largest federal grant-in-aid program, increasing 17 per cent from 1966.

Total outlay for public assistance in fiscal 1967 tilted the scales at $4,201,-019,238, a staggering figure. But even more important than the vast amount of money and people involved is the fact that welfare as presently constituted simply does not do the job. A free society like ours aims at building resourceful independent citizens, but our present welfare system keeps millions in a state of government-imposed economic bondage, without the means or the incentive to improve themselves. A systematic reform is long overdue.

What frightens those studying this problem is the rising cost of welfare in a time of unparalleled economic growth. Jobs and income are at an all-time high—yet so is the number of people drawing assistance from government. It is time to ask why. Why has welfare become a disincentive to work? Why must we tolerate a program which degrades the individual rather than offers him hope and opportunity?

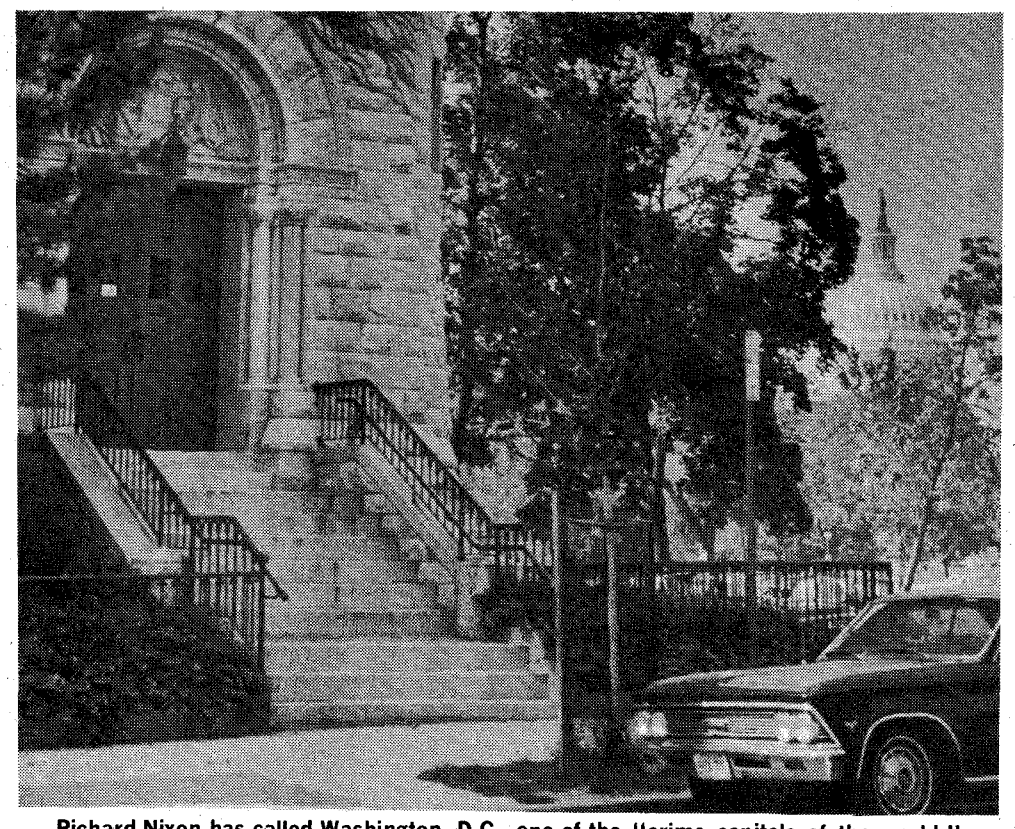
I believe one of the first orders of domestic business for our new administration in January must be an honest, non-political re-evaluation and restructuring of welfare. No one quarrels with the desire to help those disabled, or in any way unable to help themselves, but within this obligation we have a responsibility to enact a program designed to encourage people, not destroy them. If we can couple work incentives with training, enhancing the opportunities for welfare children, then we can really begin to rekindle the American dream.

Ball's About-Face

By REP. WENDELL WYATT (R.-Ore.)

The spectacle of the low-level gutter-snipe attacks made on Richard Nixon by George Ball as agent for Vice President Humphrey is more than I can silently bear. George Ball has served during the formulation of the Lyndon Johnson Viet Nam policy as under secretary of state, and more recently as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. He is one of the principal architects of our past and present Viet Nam policy. I have personally heard him on various occasions defend and articulate the Johnson Viet Nam foreign policy. If he was in disagreement with this policy, he never opened his mouth publicly. He stayed on in his position and publicly defended the President. If he really disagreed with our policy, he then must be regarded as a man of utterly no principal whatsoever. For him now to engage in mudslinging and name calling at the lowest possible level is some indication of his personality and character deficiencies, and certainly is not consistent with the high offices he has held in our government. Perhaps he has done this country a service by revealing publicly the real George Ball. More aptly, he has unwittingly revealed the real desperation of the Humphrey campaign.

A Shocking Example of D.C. Crime



Richard Nixon has called Washington, D.C., one of the "crime capitals of the world." The picture emphatically highlights the problem he was referring to. A small white card is taped to the door of St. Peter's Church, just two blocks from the Supreme Court building and the Capitol (in background). The card says, "Because of thefts and vandalism in our church, St. Peter's will have to close and lock her doors at hours other than when services are being held." The FBI reports that crime in the District of Columbia was up 22 per cent in the first six months of 1968.

Continued from Page 8

'Lesson of Munich' Forgotten?

of the *Pueblo* and the continuing casualties on the armistice line.

Then it was the Chinese military power we so considerately spared in Manchuria which backed a North Vietnamese takeover in Laos. President Kennedy explained to the American people that failure to halt that adventure would expose the rest of Southeast Asia, including South Viet Nam, to similar aggression.

Nevertheless, the logic of appeasement prevailed. A coalition with the Communists to "neutralize" the country was negotiated, and was openly violated by the Communists at once. Today the war in Laos goes on, and the country provides a privileged sanctuary for the deployment and transport of North Vietnamese troops and supplies in the predictable and predicted aggression against South Viet Nam.

Too few recognize that the appeasement in Laos made the conflict in Viet Nam possible and inevitable. And the one certainty today is that appeasement in Viet Nam, no matter how it may be camouflaged to save face for America, will guarantee Communist "wars of liberation" in Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Singapore, and ultimately Indonesia.

The same story, with local variations, has been told in Cuba. By coincidence, a book recounting it in startling detail is being published by Funk & Wagnalls on the Munich anniversary: *Dagger in the Heart: Washington Policy Failures in Cuba*. The author, Dr. Mario Lazo, one of the most eminent Cuban lawyers, devoted seven years exclusively to investigating those policy failures.

He leaves little room for doubt that appeasement—not only of the Soviets but of the perennial bogey of "world opinion"—explains the betrayal of the Cuban Freedom Fighters in the Bay of Pigs. It was at the bottom, no less, of the ambiguous settlement of the Cuban missile crisis, in which Soviet Russia, for agreeing to remove the nuclear missiles it had sneaked into the island, was paid off with a military sanctuary in the Caribbean, guaranteed against invasion.

No, the "lessons of Munich" decidedly have not been learned. Soviet power today rests essentially on a pyramid of Western appeasements, from the betrayal of Central-Eastern Europe to the acceptance of the latest subjugation of Czechoslovakia.

Indeed, the basic American policy of "building bridges" to Communist dictatorships is in the spirit of eager appeasement. The one "bridge" already built and open for nearly 12 years—to Red Poland—has been a ghastly disappointment. That country remains as anti-American and as subservient to the Kremlin as East Germany or Bulgaria. Its troops took part in the collective rape of Czechoslovakia.

Yet the one-way traffic on that strange bridge—from the American taxpayer to the Warsaw police-state—continues and the United States still pleads for the privilege of building similar bridges to all other Communist regimes, especially the USSR.

The myth on which it all rests, namely that Soviet communism has "mellowed" and is edging toward freedom, has been knocked in the head by events of the last months. Clearly nothing fundamental has changed. It is a safe guess, however, that the bridge-builders will find appeasement arguments for persisting in their labors.

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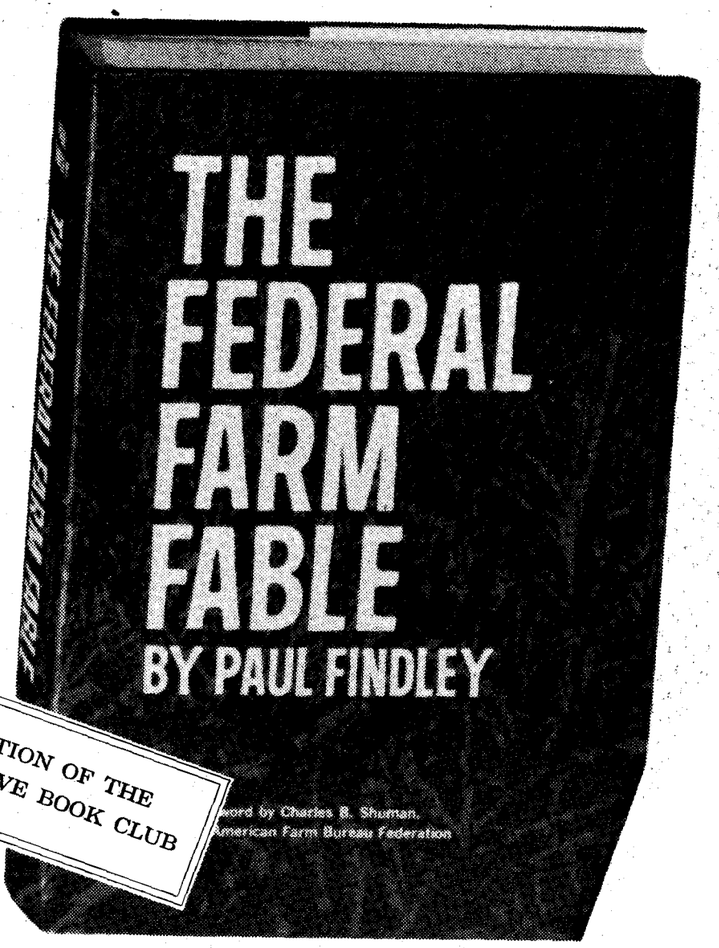
Almost everyone admits that the government farm program is a failure. This book shows how to restore freedom on the farm . . . and why we must.



THE FEDERAL FARM FABLE

By Congressman Paul Findley

Foreword by Charles B. Shuman, President, American Farm Bureau Federation

NEXT TIME A LIBERAL taunts you with "Okay, how would *you* cut the budget?", hand him this book. It gives a four-billion-dollar answer.

Yes — $4 *billion*. That's the amount wasted last year in just one government program, agricultural subsidies. When you emptied your pockets and paid your income tax this year, you were subsidizing:

- *Huge sugar firms like Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar ($1.3 million in government doles last year) and U.S. Sugar ($1.2 million in subsidies).*
- *Senator James O. Eastland, powerful Mississippi Democrat on the Senate Agriculture Committee, who voted himself $168,000 for not growing cotton on one-third of his 5,000-acre plantation.*
- *The prison systems of Texas, Arkansas and Louisiana, which got $688,000 for not growing crops on thousands of acres of prison farms.*

The First Authoritative Book on the Farm Mess

Paul Findley knows his subject. Congressman since 1960, he has served most of his eight years on the House Agricultural Committee. In 1962 he played a leading role in defeating JFK's agriculture control program, which would have placed American farmers in even more of a straitjacket. More recently Rep. Findley made headlines again as he successfully fought for a ban on shipments of surplus food to nations aiding North Vietnam. Now his new book gives you the *whole* story of the farm mess. Some examples:

★ **How the federal government created the farm problem in the first place. Findley demonstrates that New Deal legislation never achieved its aims, yet current farm policies are based on those first failures and the Depression mentality behind them.**

★ **Federal farm policies lead to massive overproduction. In 1966 the Department of Agriculture boasted that our storage costs were "only" $643,000 per day!**

★ **How the federal government pays farmers *not* to farm. An ingenious farmer in North Dakota divides his farm among the members of his family, so each of them can qualify for land-retirement payments. Three of his children under 12 are paid $50,000 not to farm. Another farmer rents a 300-acre farm, and without working it one day, puts the farm into the government's acreage-diversion program and clears a profit of more than $8,000. But most farmers are honest — and suffer. Government agents spy on them, harass them, even fine them for growing food to be *used only on their own farm.***

★ **Net income per farm in 1967 was $4,613, "only modestly above the officially designated poverty level in the United States." Yet our federal farm programs force small farmers off the land and subsidize rich farming corporations. In 1968, nine of these giants are to receive over $1 million each in handouts; another 18 will receive over $500,000 each; another 267 over $100,000 each!**

RISK-FREE EXAMINATION

In detail, Findley demonstrates not only the advantages of a free-market system of agriculture, but also *how we can make the orderly transition back to freedom.* The farm-control program is probably the most unpopular of all the welfare schemes. If we can't get rid of this boondoggle, we stand little chance of restoring the free market in any area. Every concerned American should have this book, and the facts in it.

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